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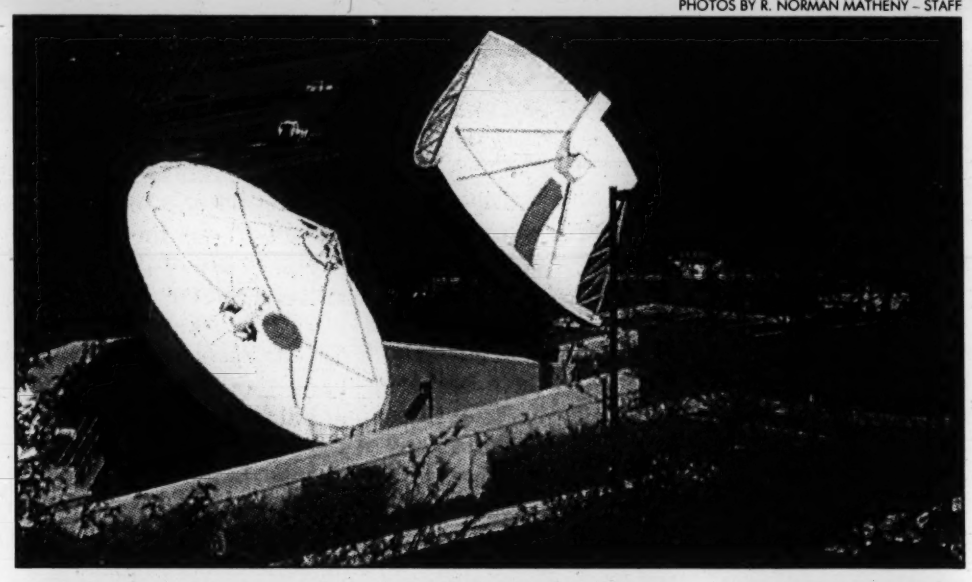
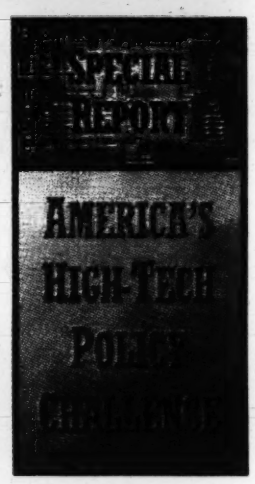




Charting a Technology Course for the United States

At TV Answer in Reston, Va., vice president Lauren Battaglia demonstrates a satellite-based system to allow television viewers to interact with programming. The system is a wireless branch of America's budding network of 'information superhighways.' Many observers say stronger US government policies are needed to help support such entrepreneurs in the global technology race.

A SPECIAL REPORT BEGINS ON PAGE 9.

Al Gore Sees Government As Technology 'Facilitator'

By Laurent Belsie

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PITTSBURGH

AL GORE JR.'s plan for the "information superhighway" is the biggest technology effort sponsored by a vice president since Lyndon Johnson championed the space program during the Kennedy administration.

INTERVIEW

Mr. Gore wins high marks for calling attention to the strategic need for a high-speed communications infrastructure – the so-called information superhighway. "He was looking at it 10 years before I was," confesses Andrew Grove, who heads Intel Corporation. "That's pretty reassuring."

Adds Motorola chairman George Fisher: "I think the federal government has to do a lot of what Al Gore and President Clinton have been doing lately: Really raise the visibility of these issues."

So how does Vice President Gore view the technology position of the United States? His answers in this telephone interview introduce the Monitor's special report on America's high-tech policy challenges, which begins on Page 9.

Have America's high-tech industries stopped their downward skid?

That's true in some areas and not in

See **GORE** *page 4*

Japan Fires a Shot Over Bow of Clinton's 'Managed Trade'

A government report blasts practices of US and others, but confesses, 'We're all sinners in this trade policy area'

By Clayton Jones

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

IF President Clinton comes knocking on Japan's door to demand a fixed market share for American goods, no one will answer.

That's the message made public today in a harsh government report that details the "unfair" policies and practices of Japan's top 10 trading partners.

Anticipating that Mr. Clinton may soon demand specific import quotas for some American high-tech products into Japan, the report warns that such tactics "do not simply violate international law, but harm the economic welfare of numerous economic entities – including the countries that employ them."

The report states that the United States, by advocating a results-oriented trade policy, is setting "itself up as both judge and prosecutor."

Mr. Clinton is due to visit Tokyo in less than two months, and this report by a high-level council of Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) is the most public attack yet on the president's emerging trade policy.

Three weeks ago, US Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown said in Tokyo that Japan's huge trade surplus required that it accept results-oriented import plans.

But when asked what would happen if Japan refuses to go along and risks economic retaliation by the US, Mr. Brown responded that "This is not a time to use rhetoric that is threatening."

"I am confident that we can come to a conclusion and a solution, because reducing the trade deficit with the United States is not only in the best interest of the United States but in the best long-term interest of Japan," he said.

See **TRADE** *page 4*

A CITY'S QUANDARY

Federal Rules Hamper New York's Search For Public Housing Sites

By Ron Scherer

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

WITH 230,000 people waiting to get into public housing, New York City has found itself in a bind: Its officials claim the Big Apple has practically run out of new sites that meet federal guidelines for funding.

The city is now appealing to the federal government to waive the guidelines limiting the amount of new public housing that can be built in low-income neighborhoods.

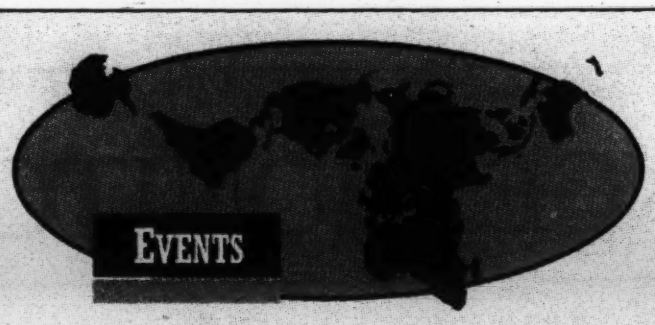
It appears the city has met with a sympathetic ear from Henry Cisneros, the secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). In an interview, Mr. Cisneros says, "It may be that in a particular circumstance, such as New York City, which is fundamentally different than other cities, that we might consider waivers so they can get new housing built...."

But he adds that he prefers to "work across a metropolitan area, a county, suburbs to accept well-designed scattered-site housing." Mr. Cisneros also sees no reason to press for major changes in the HUD rules, which, he says, are "rooted in good, sound logic."

New York's quandary has come home to roost in the Upper West Side, long a bastion of liberal activism. The New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) wants to build a $5 million, 35-unit public housing project on a city-owned parcel of land, taken over earlier by local residents and made into a community park called the DOME Garden.

If the city has not begun the project by Nov. 30, $4.1 million from the federal government will revert to the US Treasury. The city has had the money since 1980 when Congress allocated the funds for public housing. So far the city has considered and rejected 12 different Manhattan sites that did not meet federal guidelines, were too expensive, too small, or on polluted land. Now, the city is considering the 13th site

See **HOUSING** *page 4*



POLL BACKS HIGHER CIGARETTE TAXES

Even people in tobacco-growing states such as North Carolina and Kentucky favor increasing United States taxes on cigarettes to pay for health-care reform. The Gallup Organization found that increasing the federal taxes on tobacco is almost as popular in "tobacco alley" as other parts of the country, Monitor staff writer Ron Scherer reports. The poll found that nearly 72 percent of the adults polled in tobacco states favor increasing the tax compared with 73 percent nationally. The largest percentage of those polled favored a hike of 50 cents a pack. This was the first poll taken since the tobacco industry mailed out millions of flyers opposing a tax increase to smokers, retailers, and gasoline station owners. The new poll found that even 40 percent of smokers favor an increase in the tax.

EC urges diplomacy

The European Community's 12 foreign ministers sought yesterday to increase pressure on the Bosnian Serbs through their ally Serbia and to press Washington for more time before agreeing on military action to halt the bloodshed. The ministers met with their peace negotiator, Lord Owen, who again cautioned against US proposals for air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions and arming the beleaguered Muslims. "We have always said that military intervention in those countries will not bring any solution," Greek Foreign Minister Michail Papaconstantinou said.

EC gives on trade

In a concession to prevent a US-Europe trade war, EC foreign ministers agreed yesterday to ease curbs on US companies bidding for EC government contracts, endorsing an earlier deal between officials on both sides. An article in the EC public utilities directive giving a degree of preference to EC firms over foreign bids will no longer be applied to bids from American makers of heavy electrical equipment.

West German solidarity

Thousands of engineering workers in western Germany staged spontaneous protest demonstrations yesterday to support the controversial week-old metalworkers strike in the east. The IG Metall union said 22,000 workers at four Daimler-Benz plants near Stuttgart in the prosperous west had stopped work, for the most part without pay, for up to two hours.

Landslide in Ecuador

At least 200 people were killed in a landslide Sunday in a remote area of southern Ecuador near the Peruvian border when a mountainside gave way in torrential rains and buried a small gold-mining village, Civil Defense officials said yesterday. Details on the accident were still sketchy since communications were difficult, and no official death toll was available.

Japan raises questions

A Japanese official asked the United Nations mission chief in Cambodia today to improve security for his nation's peacekeepers, some of whom are pleading to be withdrawn in the face of escalating attacks on UN personnel. The head of the UN operation, Yasushi Akashi, told reporters the outcome of his meeting with Home Affairs Minister Keijiro Murata was "very good." The Khmer Rouge, which is boycotting a legislative vote planned for May 23-28, is suspected in most of the attacks, and troops from other nations are also very concerned.

Executive pay falls

Chief executive officers of the 800 biggest US corporations received median pay of $1.2 million last year, due in part to lucrative stock options, according to Forbes magazine. But the median salary and bonus for all CEOs actually declined 14 percent last year, to $806,000 from $942,000 the year before. And International Business Machines Corporation unveiled yesterday a new generation of the IBM PS/1 line of computers for home and small business. The faster machines go out to a market that has been difficult for the business giant in the past.

– Compiled by David Mutch

NATIONAL

Clinton Pitches Economic Plan, But So Far, Business Isn't Buying

By Amy Kaslow
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

STRONG signs that the nation's economic recovery is faltering have prompted a strategy shift in President Clinton's promotion of his economic plan – but that may not be enough to overcome skepticism among consumers and business leaders.

Wary of losing support from businesses and consumers, the White House seems to be throttling back its previous demands for higher and broader-based taxes, and putting the benefits of budget cuts front and center.

Mr. Clinton told reporters that a 1 percent drop in the Index of Leading Economic Indicators during March – the sharpest fall since the depths of the recession two years ago – buoys the case for his five-year budget-cutting measures. Fiscal restraint will boost financial markets and drive interest rates down, the president argues, thus generating growth.

But while Clinton's earlier calls for "shared sacrifice" are now muted and the release of his costly health-care reforms is delayed, corporations and individuals still see added government costs and higher taxes looming ahead.

Business leaders from small firms to large multinationals have sharpened their attacks on the White House agenda, which they claim is offered at their expense. And after three months of the Clinton presidency, American taxpayers – whose hopes were boosted by Clinton's election last winter – now are more anxious about their position and where the economy is headed.

One of the most important barometers of the economy's health – consumer confidence – dropped during the first three months of 1993. Consumer purchases make up two-thirds of US economic activity; when they begin to sink, businesses scale back investment and hiring plans.

The measure of consumer sentiment is down "because people don't know what to expect" from government or business, says Gail Fosler, chief economist of the New York-based Conference Board, which compiles the closely watched monthly index.

Clinton could help buoy confidence, she says, "if he spoke more consistently and in more positive terms." Instead, Americans are inundated with negative news about poor prospects for employment in this "jobless recovery" and face "so many unknowns – from taxes to health-care costs," Ms. Fosler says.

Ultimately, she projects, lower interest rates and greater availability of personal and business loans will improve consumers' outlook. "The perversity is that Clinton will get more credit for and do less policy-wise" to decrease the deficit because the "low interest rates alone will "have a powerful impact," she says.

But in the interim, consumers and businesses "don't feel secure making decisions today that obligate them for the future," she adds.

In an interview, Labor Secretary Robert Reich says efforts to win businesses' endorsement are somewhat frustrating: "The Clinton administration is doing its part by getting interest rates down and giving the private sector the resources it needs to invest ... but we're powerless unless the private sector takes some reponsibility."

Mr. Reich, one of Clinton's top domestic policy advisers, says, "The economic plan does exactly what business wants" by slashing federal spending and offering "all kinds of incentives for business development." Its passage, he says, "is crucial to long-term growth here in the US."

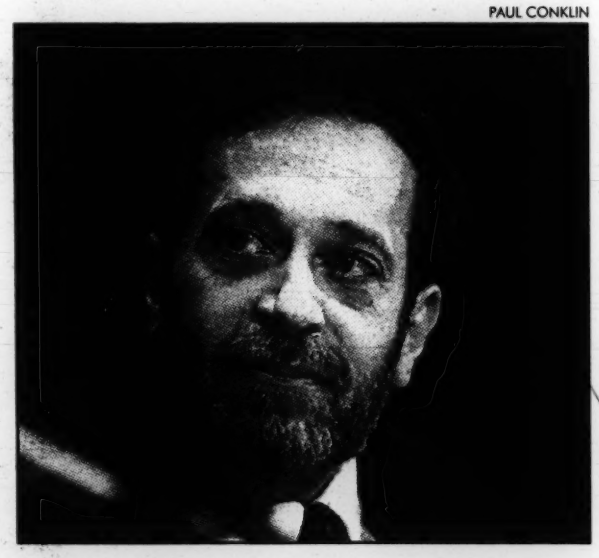
But since the administration's recent failure to win congressional support for the $16.3 billion stimulus package, opponents of the broader tax plan have been on the offensive, warning Americans that it will undermine economic growth.

A string of disappointing economic data fueled their fire – including the drop in the Index of Leading Economic Indicators, a dramatic decline in the output of US goods and services between 1992's last quarter and the first three months of this year, April's news that industrial production was almost flat, and last Friday's Labor Department report that unemployment remains at a naggingly high 7 percent.

Jerry Jasinowski, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, blasts Clinton's proposed phase in of an energy tax as "a jobs killer" that will cut more than 600,000 workers from employment rolls by 1998.

While the White House is pushing this portion of the plan as a consumption tax, Mr. Jasinowski asserts that some $42 billion of the expected $72 billion increased revenues from the tax would be paid by business.

PAUL CONKLIN



'I don't believe for a minute that our unemployment problem has anything to do with concerns about the economic plan. We inherited an economy mired in recession.... If anything, the action already taken by the president has had a good effect.'

– Labor Secretary Robert Reich

In an address to senior corporate economists, General Electric Company chairman John Welch Jr. warned that "higher taxes and higher health-care costs are in direct conflict with more jobs."

Reich replies: "I don't believe for a minute that our unemployment problem has anything to do with concerns about the economic plan. We inherited an economy mired in recession.... If anything, the action already taken by the president has had a good effect."

The labor secretary says Clinton's ability to convince "Congress to push ahead with specific budget cuts and tax increases ... had a tonic effect on interest rates.... It's now critical that the business community get involved."

In an interview, Interior secretary describes a strategy to protect ecosystems and land users

Babbitt Tackles Resource Reform

By Brad Knickerbocker
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

RENO, NEV.

WHEN he talks about the Endangered Species Act, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt uses words like "transcendent," "visionary," and "passionate." It's the one piece of federal legislation, he says, that has the potential to fundamentally change the way Americans view and make use of natural resources.

During his first few months on the job, Mr. Babbitt – the overseer of some half-billion acres of federal land – has had to wrestle with lawmakers and special interests over an agenda for reforming federal land management that is more ambitious than anything seen in Washington for at least two decades.

He has won some initial fights and acquiesced on others. But in an interview here last week, Babbitt demonstrated no lack of enthusiasm. "It'll be a banner year for resource reform," he predicts.

While most public lands in his domain are in the West – national parks, wilderness, wildlife refuges, the arid territory bypassed by homesteaders a century ago – his responsibility to protect endangered species gives him power nationwide. His job, as he sees it, is to convey a vision of protecting ecosystems while working with families and communities dependent on natural resources such as minerals, timber, and forage for livestock.

His main tool for doing this is the Endangered Species Act of 1973, up for reauthorization in Congress this year. He describes the controversial measure as "transcendent, overarching ... encompassing all types of land use and development issues." And his ecosystem approach to dealing with natural habitats – as opposed to focusing on individual species – he sees as the next logical step after the establishment of the first national parks and refuges early in the century, the wilderness system in 1964, then the strict species-protection legislation launched 20 years ago.

Fencing off areas not an answer

What has been learned in recent years, he says, is that "we can't fence off such areas but have to come to grips with how we deal with them in our daily lives." He frequently uses the phrase "land ethic," which comes from his hero Aldo Leopold, the author of "A Sand County Almanac."

Such talk gives many resource-users and others opposed to environmentalism the willies. But Babbitt, a former Arizona governor who until recently headed the League of Conservation Voters, takes a very pragmatic and inclusive approach. "Common ground" is another phrase he often utters.

During what he calls "my exile in the desert" – the years between his 1988 failed run for the presidency and his recent appointment – he did much legal work for developers dealing with the Endangered Species Act. Here, he learned two things.

"I discovered the extra flexibility and reach of the act," he says. "The way in which if you get there early and have a little flexibility you can solve things by working creatively with government people."

Another "revelation," he says, was that "There were more people in the private sector trying to make the act work than there were government officials whose responsibility it was." (He makes clear here that he is "not talking about the rank-and-file government people" but "political ideologues back in Washington.")

Creating a management system

As a result of his work in the private sector, and his time as governor when he successfully negotiated such tough issues as water rights, Babbitt has concluded that "There are lots of examples of good [resource] management all around."

BRAD KNICKERBOCKER

BRUCE BABBITT: *The interior secretary (center), here visiting Pyramid Lake, Nev., aims to build consensus while formulating new policies for managing millions of acres of federal land.*

"The question is, How do you turn those into a management system that is simple, predictable, and quantifiable?" he asks. Of the years-long debate over timber sales, grazing fees, and mining royalties, he says: "People are tired of the uncertainty. They're worn out and want some numbers they can take to the bank, literally, and get on with their lives."

His initial approach to such issues involves two things: one primarily scientific, the other largely political. First is the new National Biological Survey to gauge the health of ecosystems nationwide. This is designed to satisfy environmentalists, as well as their opponents, who argue over the number of a declining species and, therefore, whether it should be protected.

"We're using good science here," Babbitt says. "I've gotten a lot of support from conservatives who say good science would make a lot of these disputes unnecessary."

The other immediate task he has set himself is to take a hands-on role in dealing with resource-dependent communities affected by the legal decisions based on that scientific information. Babbitt describes this as "The part that's most fun of all – going out and getting people together and saying 'Let's work this thing out.' " The models here are the April "forest conference" in Oregon and the more recent public hearings Babbitt chaired on public-lands grazing.

He makes it clear in such meetings – and in his congressional testimony – that he is not trying to shut down mining, ranching, and logging, as some environmentalists want. "Maintenance of biodiversity will require the careful management of habitat systems in the context of ongoing human use, including use of the biodiversity resources themselves," he said in a recent House hearing.

As for reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act, Babbitt is in no hurry to see Congress move. The law remains in force as is until lawmakers change it, and although several bills were introduced last week, no one expects a vote to come before the end of the year.

Policies that balance, protect

In the interview, he said his main objective as Interior secretary will be to "get a new set of resource policies in place that move toward the sustainable, balanced use of resources in a way that's consistent with protection of ecosystems, the maintenance of riparian zones, and the protection of biodiversity."

That is a high standard, Babbitt acknowledges, but one he believes he can achieve "relying on experimentation, creativity, and goodwill. I have a passion for trying to make this thing work."

Boston School Reopens After Racial Violence

SCHOOL opened peacefully at South Boston High School yesterday, following a weekend of negotiations and neighborhood meetings over a violent racial incident at the school Thursday.

Surrounded by television cameras, police officers, and city officials, seniors entered the main entrance to the hilltop brick edifice without incident. School buses, led by police motorcade, carried no more than a handful of students to school. Several arrived empty.

Ed Long, a white senior walking to school at about 8:00 a.m., said Thursday's melee – in which more than 200 white and black youths yelled racial epithets and threw rocks and bottles at one another – shows that the school needs tighter security. But he and other students said they resented the heavy police and media presence here. "Today it's going to be all cops. I don't like it," he said.

Many students said they didn't foresee any more trouble. Most, however, would not talk to the press.

One black girl blamed the media for Thursday's conflict. "Everything will work out fine. Hopefully, I'll be out of here in June," she said.

Earlier in the morning, Boston police Commissioner Francis Roache told reporters: "This is an issue of getting to school today and leaving safely. Because of recent events, I don't want the children intimidated or frightened."

■ *Shelby Siems and Elizabeth Ross report from Boston.*

Miami police trial begins

Jury selection began yesterday in the Orlando, Fla., retrial of a Miami police officer charged in a 1989 shooting death that triggered a riot.

Officer William Lozano was convicted of manslaughter in the deaths of two motorcyclists, but an appeals court ordered a new trial, saying his Miami jury may have feared an acquittal would cause more street violence.

The trial has bounced five times between Miami, Orlando, and Tallahassee. Orlando finally was chosen because it has a larger Hispanic population than Tallahassee.

Officer Lozano claims self-defense in his shooting of a rapidly approaching motorcyclist on Jan. 16, 1989, in a predominantly black Miami neighborhood. The deaths of biker Clement Lloyd and his passenger, Allan Blanchard, triggered three nights of racial violence that killed one man and caused $1 million in damage.

– Compiled by Max Boot

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"There has been nothing that has been said to me to indicate that we cannot come to some kind of successful conclusion of our negotiations," Brown added.

Japanese officials, however, say they would appeal any attempt by the US to impose import targets to the multilateral trading organization known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT. They claim that import targets are "dangerous," because they indirectly discriminate against products of other countries. Japan has tried to win support from Asian and European nations against Clinton's embrace of "managed trade."

Japan has one other option as well, says Salomon Brothers economist Robert Feldman in Tokyo. "Should the United States insist on enforceable targets because of Japanese 'peculiarities,' then Japan, as a condition of agreement, could reasonably insist on enforceable targets for correcting US 'peculiarities,' " he says, such as high executive salaries, high health care costs, and an overbloated legal system.

LAST week, Clinton's trade representative, Mickey Kantor, listed six industrial areas for increased exports to Japan under an "industry by industry" formula: autos, auto parts, semiconductors, electronics, computers, and supercomputers.

"We seek mutuality of obligation and comparability of action," Mr. Kantor told the National Press Club in Washington, and will not tolerate "political, social, and commercial practices and attitudes" that choke the sale of US products and services in the Japanese market.

The MITI report depicts the US as one of the world's worst offenders in practicing "unfair" trade. This is the second year that Japan has issued such a report. One of its purposes is to counter the yearly report in the US that lists "unfair" trading partners.

Last year's report by MITI was criticized for not reporting on Japan's own trading practices. So this year, the report includes US and European Community's criticisms of Japan. "We are all sinners in this trade policy area," said a MITI official.

In a new assertiveness, Japan is more openly confronting the US on trade disputes. The Japan Automobile Manufacturers Association warned Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen in a recent letter that setting higher tariffs on imported minivans would seriously harm bilateral trade relations and would be an "unequivocal violation" of international trade laws.

'Should the US insist on enforceable targets because of Japanese "peculiarities," ' then Japan could do the same.

– US economist in Tokyo

And MITI head Yoshiro Mori warned Kantor in a letter that the government will not force Japanese automakers to increase purchases of US auto parts to a target level. Clinton officials say President Bush extracted a promise from Japan's government last year to boost purchases of US auto parts from $9 billion last year to $19 billion in 1994. Mr. Mori says the procurement plan is a target "voluntarily set by the industry, not a public pledge."

The MITI report claims the US is "preoccupied" with trade results because it incorrectly links Japan's large trade surplus to the issue of "inadequate" market access for foreign goods. Rather, the surplus is more a problem of macroeconomic imbalances, the report says.

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others. We have achieved a few successes in recent years. Sematech is an example of how an effective new partnership between the public and private sector can reverse the decline in a key industry that is dependent on high technology. Learning the lessons of Sematech means creating the same kind of partnership approach in other areas where the US decline is unfortunately still continuing. I think we're on the eve of a new era. [But] we have to make these changes first.

What is government's role?

Private industry will take the lead role, of course, and government will play the role of facilitator and enabler.

What are the specific goals?

We outlined a comprehensive technology policy when the president and I visited Silicon Valley.... We laid out a framework for federal technology programs focused on three broad goals: creating long-term economic growth that creates jobs and protects the environment; No. 2, making government more efficient and more responsive; and No. 3, maintaining world leadership in basic science, mathematics, and engineering.

Some high-tech executives say you are moving too slowly.

We have already begun to implement the changes that were outlined in that policy and we are already seeing a response in the private sector. We have had a long series of meetings with industry groups, who are beginning to shift investment priorities in accord with the vision that President Clinton and I outlined earlier this year. We are already seeing a reallocation of funding within the federal programs by the appointees that have been put in place by the administration. There's a very aggressive new attitude in all parts of the federal government.

Will there be a new policymaking body to oversee the administration's high-tech efforts?

We have an informal group that advises the president on these efforts. He has asked me to take charge of the task of overseeing what we're doing in technology. The president's science adviser, who heads the Office of Science and Technology Policy, Jack Gibbons, works very closely with the president and with me in helping to coordinate these efforts.... We have a very smooth and effective relationship.

Will this group be formalized?

Not unless it needs to be.

Have you set clean-car goals yet?

The specific numerical goals are still being discussed and they will be the subject of intensive deliberation in which the auto companies are involved.

High-tech executives applaud the leadership you have taken on the information superhighways. Without spending a dime, they say, you've elevated an issue and industry is paying attention. Has government done enough in this area?

The federal government's role ... will be to steer more than to row. We want to set the standards, the protocols, outline the vision, provide direct action where it's obvious that it's not going to get done in any other way, but leave the vast majority of the task to private industry.

HOUSING from page 1

on the community garden where this summer's vegetable crop already has been planted and the environmentally correct compost pile is heaped high.

"This is the only site we researched which complies with HUD standards," says Linda Cappello, director of planning development at NYCHA. Among other rules, HUD requires that federal funds not be spent in communities that have a 65 percent minority population. This rule eliminates such areas as the Lower East Side or Harlem, both heavily populated with minorities seeking public housing.

'Something has to give'

Since New York wants to use other allocated federal funds to build 1,300 units, the federal rules will make finding new locations tough. "Something has to give," says Melissa Pavone, assistant director in the NYCHA planning department.

City officials and Rep. Nydia Velazquez (D) of New York made this point on May 6 during Secretary Cisneros's visit to the predominately Hispanic Lower East Side. Pointing to an empty lot, local officials said it could be turned into housing if HUD waived its rules.

The HUD rules place the politicians in a difficult position. Ruth Messinger, Manhattan borough president, says she supports the purpose of the rules – to spread low-income housing among diverse neighborhoods.

"This city agrees with that. It's just that we have many areas with a mix of housing, different price ranges, but are defined by the government as [not eligible for federal funds] where we nevertheless have a willing community, quality sponsors, and builders ready to go in," Ms. Messinger says.

The city's long search for an alternative site tells a story about New York real estate. One potential location is the site of a transit authority substation. To clean up the PCBs and remove the asbestos would cost an estimated $525,000 for a space considered too small for the project. Another spot in Little Italy does not have enough open space. Different city agencies want other potential areas for their own purposes. And at least four of the potential sites don't meet HUD requirements.

All of this led the NYCHA to the DOME Garden site. In 1978, some community activists transformed a vacant, garbage-filled lot into the neighborhood garden. Since an early project was building a geodesic dome, "we became known as those dome kids," says Joel Flax, executive director. Later the group called itself "Developing Opportunities through Meaningful Education" (DOME). Today, it runs nine educational programs for up to 1,200 children and receives funding from foundations and New York City.

Despite DOME's good deeds, there have been five attempts by the city to take back its land. Former Mayor Edward Koch tried to sell the property to private developers. When that failed, he tried to erect low-income housing on the site. That also didn't pan out.

Exactly why the city has failed to get back its land becomes clear at a meeting held by the local Community Board on May 4. A crowd of about 70 garden supporters fill an auditorium on the West Side.

'Keep the garden'

After NYCHA's Cappello makes her presentation to the Community Board, DOME's Flax makes an appeal to keep the site. He assures the group that "if it was just a matter of the garden versus low-income housing, I couldn't support the garden." However, he believes there are alternatives open to the NYCHA.

Then, the DOME supporters bring out some young children who ask the board to keep their park. This final plea by the tots helps to sway the community board, which votes to support the garden instead of the housing.

Borough President Messinger, who says she is undecided, has to make a decision to approve or disapprove the new housing within 30 days. Then, two New York City elected boards will examine the project. Finally, if the mayor approves the project, it will start – unless HUD agrees to waive its own rules for an alternative site.

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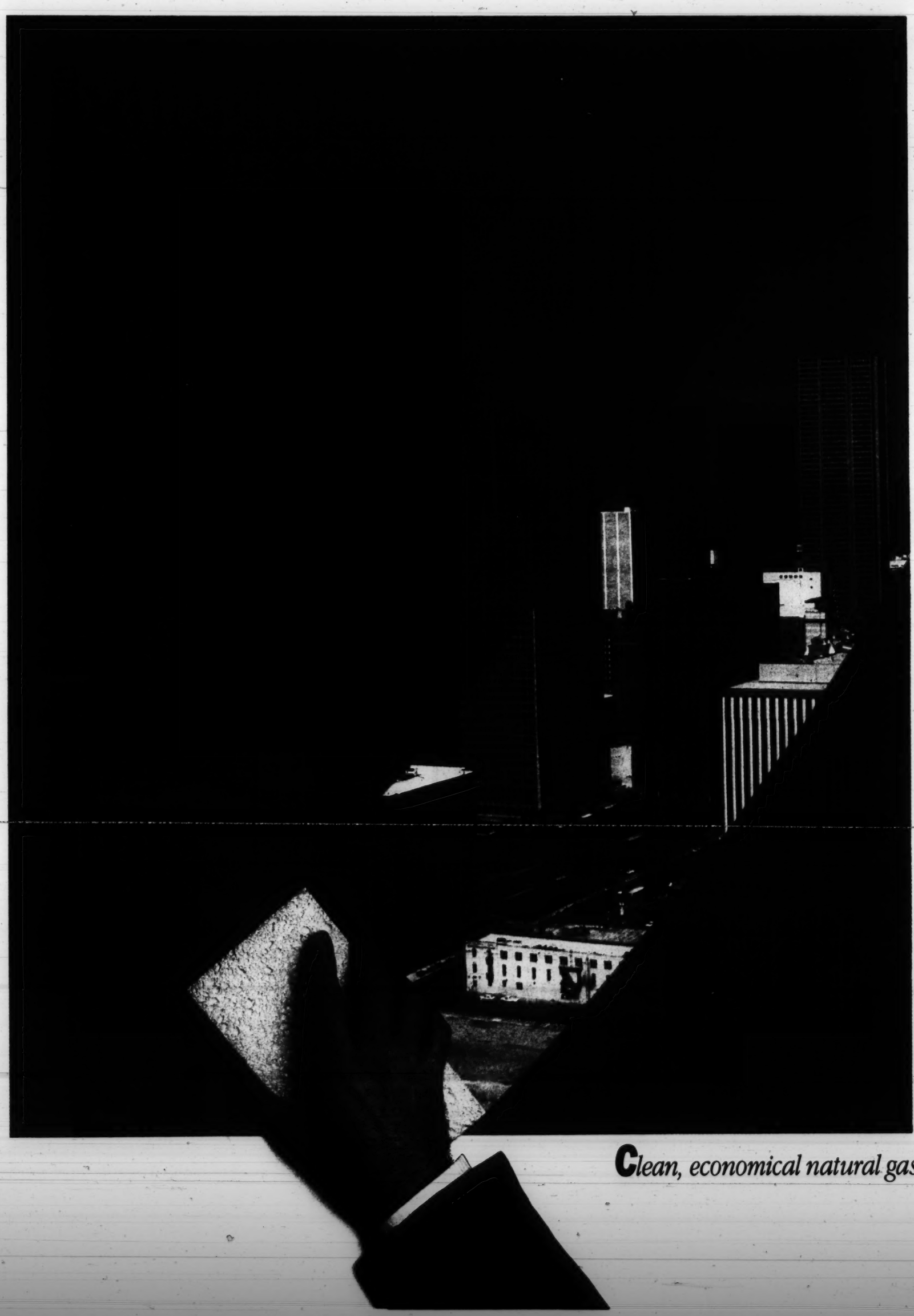

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CROATS RENEW ATTACKS ON BOSNIA MUSLIMS

SARAJEVO

■ As Serbs and Muslims carried out a general cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croat fighters launched a blistering attack on government forces in Mostar, forcing hundreds of Muslims from the city 45 miles southwest of Sarajevo.

Heavy fighting with anti-aircraft machine guns and mortar fire was reported. Ten bus loads of Muslim civilians were seen leaving the city under Croat guard. A spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees said the agency had reports that Croatian forces planned to deport Muslims to the towns of Zenica and Jablanica to the north.

The Croats are nominally allied with the Muslims against the Serbs, but want to link Croatian-held territory in southwestern Bosnia with Croatia proper.

The Bosnian Croats were not a party to the latest truce between Bosnian Serbs and Muslims, which went into effect on Sunday. As part of the pact, the towns of Zepa and Srebrenica were to be demilitarized starting yesterday.

The first UN military observers reached Zepa on foot Sunday after their vehicles were blocked by barricades.

The observers found the township of Zepa almost deserted, after days of intense fighting. John McMillan, spokesman for the UNHCR, said 40,000 people used to live in Zepa and surrounding villages, including about 6,000 in Zepa proper.

"If the situation report in Zepa is correct, then it is a humanitarian catastrophe of tremendous magnitude if there are 50 people wandering around a city that was at least 6,000 before the shelling," he said.

The foreign ministers of the 12 European Community countries were meeting today in Brussels to discuss increasing pressure on Bosnian Serbs. But they appeared unlikely to agree to military intervention, as President Clinton has proposed.

– **Associated Press**

INTERNATIONAL

Cossacks: Friend or Foe of Yeltsin Reform?

President's support for the warrior caste's autonomy bid increases the risk of ethnic war

By Justin Burke
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

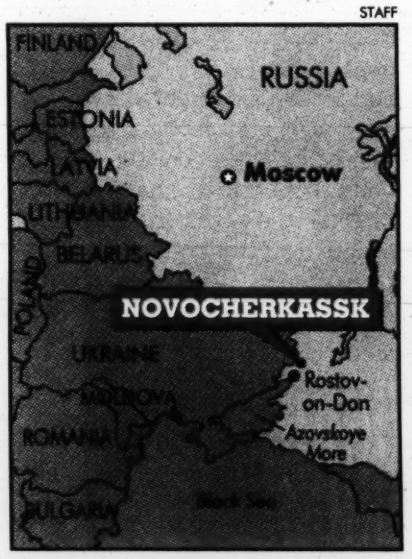
NOVOCHERKASSK, RUSSIA

IT has been almost two years since the Communist Party lost its grip on power, but statues to Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin still occupy prominent places in most cities in Russia.

Not so in this city of 50,000, located in the heart of the fertile flatlands of the Don River basin. After the Communists' downfall, little time was lost in toppling the Lenin statue that dominated the city's central square.

In its place, residents rebuilt – relying on old photographs – a statue honoring Matvei Platov, a Cossack hero of Russia's war against Napoleonic France. Novocherkassk is the traditional capital of the Don Cossacks, erstwhile enemies of the Bolshevik regime who are eager to regain their place in Russian society.

STAFF



The restoration of the Platov statue and other historical symbols is only a small part of the Cossacks' revival program. Its leaders say they want to regain all rights enjoyed by Cossacks under Russia's czars.

"It would be good for us, and good for Russia, to restore the rights of our forefathers. We can be an important part of the revival of Great Russia," says Ivan Arkhipov, a Cossack leader of the Rostov-on-Don district.

President Boris Yeltsin apparently shares Mr. Arkhipov's sentiments. "Artificial obstacles blocking the revival of Cossack traditions will be removed through our joint efforts," Mr. Yeltsin said in an April statement.

But some political leaders warn that Yeltsin is playing with fire. They compare the restoration of full Cossacks rights to the opening of a Pandora's box of potential ethnic conflict.

"Yeltsin doesn't have a clear understanding of the Cossacks," says historian Viktor Bezotosny, a Cossack specialist. "He united with them for tactical reasons, but strategically they could represent a threat to him."

The Don area is home not only to Cossacks, but also Russians, as well as a significant community from the mountainous Caucasus region to the south. The Caucasian nationalities historically have been bitter foes of the Cossacks. With Russia still in the grip of an economic crisis, ethnic tensions in Rostov could easily ignite, observers say, adding the Cossacks could serve as the spark.

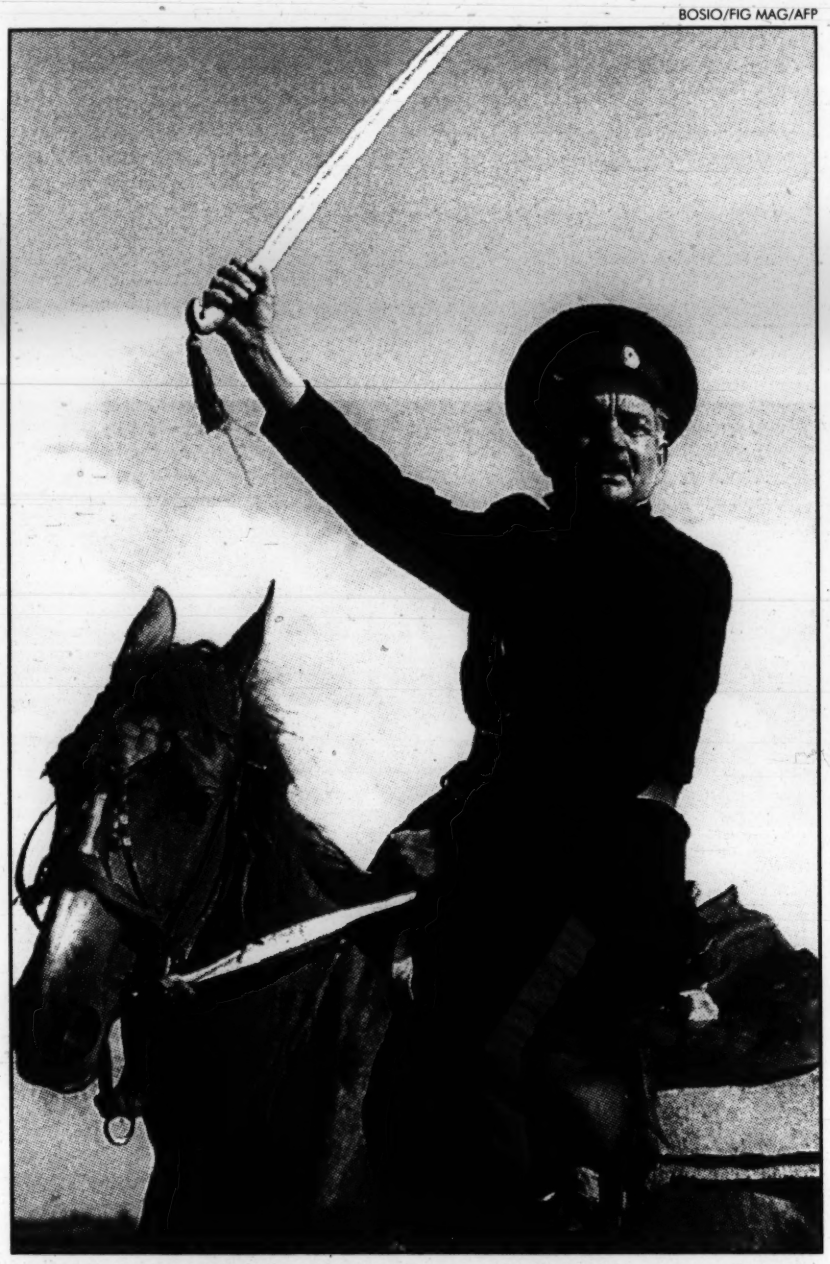
One step already taken by Yeltsin – the formation of Cossack border guard units in the volatile North Caucasus region – has been attacked by ethnic minority leaders in parliament. They warn of a repeat of the 19th-century Caucasian wars, in which the Cossacks played a key role in the Russian conquest of the region. "Factors have accumulated in the Caucasus that could trigger a civil war," says Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the parliament's Chamber of Nationalities.

"It's also ironic from the Cossack side that what they are currently trying to accomplish contradicts their patriotic ideals," Mr. Bezotosny says. "They want a strong, united Great Russia, but they are helping to facilitate its breakup."

Traditionally, Cossacks were a warrior caste of staunch Russian nationalists, strong backers of the czar and firm believers in the Orthodox Church. There were 14 Cossack semi-autonomous regions, called military districts, of which the Don Cossack area was the most powerful.

Under the Romanov czars, Cossacks enjoyed a special status. They never experienced serfdom, a form of slavery that kept peasants bound to estates until 1861. Instead, Cossacks were smallholders, or private farmers tilling land that was communally owned. Military service was the principal Cossack tradition, and Cossack units served as the backbone of the Russian Army.

BOSIO/FIG MAG/AFP



A COSSACK RIDES AGAIN: *Local authorities are struggling to contain Cossack vigilante action, including service in Serbia and Georgia.*

MANY Cossacks fiercely resisted the Red Army during the Russian Civil War of 1918-22. After the Bolsheviks established firm control over Russia, they ruthlessly persecuted Cossacks, viewing them as a prime threat to the new Communist state.

Yeltsin – now locked in a power struggle with those he terms the "neo-Bolsheviks" controlling the Russian parliament – has sought to utilize Cossack hatred for the Soviet regime.

Don Cossack leaders have thus far been receptive to Yeltsin's overtures, supporting the president in last month's referendum. But at the same time, a considerable number of Cossacks, including Arkhipov, have doubts about Yeltsin keeping his promises.

"Every time Yeltsin is in dire straits at the Congress [of People's Deputies] he turns to the Cossacks for support. But as soon as the threat has passed, the Cossacks find themselves forgotten," Arkhipov says.

The Cossacks will turn on Yeltsin if he fails to help revival efforts this time around, warns Vladimir Yemelyanov, deputy head of the Rostov Regional Administration. "There will be problems if the Cossacks feel they're only being used as a political weapon," he says.

As it stands, Yeltsin's policy is flawed because it assumes Cossack support for democratic institutions, Bezotosny says. "Part of the movement may support Yeltsin, but many side with the Red-Brown [Russian nationalist] forces," he says.

A big problem with the Cossack movement, Mr. Yemelyanov adds, is that it is controlled by "bandits, hooligans, and others who use the Cossack banner for convenience."

Local authorities are struggling to contain Cossack vigilante action, as well as attempts to establish separate governing bodies, Yemelyanov says. Ultranationalist Cossack volunteers have already served in conflicts raging in the former Yugoslavia and former Soviet republics of Moldova and Georgia.

Also problematic for Yeltsin is that a complete revival of Cossack traditions may be impossible; Bezotosny notes that Cossacks have lost touch with traditional farming.

"The [revival] plan may be unrealistic," he adds, "but what is real is that they are an organized force, in contrast to the collapse of other power structures in the country."

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Italy Sees Twilight Of Scandal-Ridden Christian Democrats

Party that kept communists out of power falls from grace

By Richard L. Wentworth
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ROME

'IN some cities, you had to choose between the honest, competent man who would do the public good and the Christian Democrat," says Rocco Buttiglione.

Mr. Buttiglione, who is not a nemesis of the Christian Democratic Party (DC) but part of its 15-member governing board, highlights one of the party's current problems.

The DC, which has guided Italy in coalition governments since World War II, has never been in worse shape. The party that built a broad consensus in Italian society, especially among the middle class, has been badly hurt by scandals involving organized crime and kickbacks on public contracts. And in the wake of the collapse of the Berlin Wall, it remains ideologically adrift. Party leader Mino Martinazzoli has called an important DC assembly for this summer to work out reforms and even talks of renaming the party.

But some people don't want to wait.

"He's moving too slowly," says Fabiana Di Paola, an economics student and a member of the party's youth group. "I'm young and I want to see change now."

So does Mario Segni, the head of People for Reform and the son of a former president of the country. He left the party in March, saying it has become "an apparatus that has lost every link with the healthy part of Italian society, an apparatus dominated by men who opened the doors of the republic to the corrupt and the Mafiosi."

Many of the DC's most prominent figures are under investigation.

Giulio Andreotti, the seven-time prime minister, is accused by former Mafiosi of meeting with leading exponents of Cosa Nostra, including the reputed boss of bosses, Salvatore Riina, and of doing political favors for the Mafia. Mr. Andreotti strenuously denies the charges.

Andreotti announced May 3 that he would ask the Parliament to waive his parliamentary immunity to prosecution. The decision followed public outrage over Parliament's refusal to allow investigating magistrates in Milan to try ex-Socialist Party chief Bettino Craxi on a series of charges related to kickbacks.

Antonio Gava, a former interior minister, is under investigation for links to the Camorra organized crime group of Naples.

"He's the heart of DC power ... the kingmaker," says Massimo Franco, author of the new Italian book, "Everyone Home: The Twilight of Mamma DC."

Other leading Christian Democrats under investigation, most of them for alleged kickbacks, include ex-Budget Minister Paolo Cirino Pomicino, Sen. Severino Citaristi (a key DC finance figure, who has been notified more times by magistrates that he is under investigation than any other person), former party head Arnaldo Forlani, ex-Education Minister Riccardo Misasi, ex-Public Works Minister Gianni Prandini, parliamentary Deputy Vittorio Sbardella (a leading figure in Rome), and ex-Interior Minister Vincenzo Scotti.

It is a sad state of affairs for the party that has always enjoyed the explicit support of the Roman Catholic Church. The DC's (and the Vatican's) overriding desire down the decades was to keep the highly popular Italian Communist Party from coming to power.

"Here you have the key to the development of Italy and here you also have the key to the problems of today," Buttiglione says. "The fall of the Berlin Wall has been almost as important for Italy as for the communist countries."

The Christian Democratic Party is 'an apparatus dominated by men who opened the doors of the republic to the corrupt.'

– Mario Segni, ex-Christian Democrat

With the demise of communism, the party lost an important raison d'être. Simultaneously, populist politician Umberto Bossi's Lombard League, later renamed the Northern League, was making inroads on the DC's northern electorate. The party slipped several points in the April 1992 parliamentary elections.

In the last year, DC leaders have watched the Socialists, their partners in recent government coalitions, drop from about 14 percent of the vote in the April 1992 parliamentary elections to less than 5 percent in recent opinion polls.

Could something similar happen to the DC?

No, says Massimo Franco.

"While behind its power the Socialist Party has nothing, the DC has the church behind it," he explains. "It won't fall until the Roman Catholic Church stops supporting it ... and the church has no other political force to take the place of the DC."

Buttiglione is less certain. The DC could disappear, he suggests. Its need today is to put forward the best candidates possible, he says, because in this political climate "Catholics will vote for the better man."

Pakistan's Bhutto Is Poised For a Political Comeback

By Farhan Bokhari
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN

FORMER Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, who attracted world attention when she became the first woman to lead an Islamic country, was probably prepared for a long and difficult period of political isolation after her government was sacked on corruption charges in August 1990.

But last month's downfall of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government – after a power struggle with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan – has apparently opened the door for Ms. Bhutto's political comeback.

Her opposition People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) joined the new interim government that was appointed to conduct national elections on July 14. Among its ministers is Asif Ali Zardari, Bhutto's husband, whom President Khan had jailed after the downfall of Bhutto's government and only released on bail in February.

Mr. Zardari's presence in the interim government only confirmed earlier speculation of a rapproachment between Bhutto and Khan.

Many Pakistanis still remember Bhutto from over a year ago, leading a protest inside the parliament and interrupting a presidential speech by chanting slogans calling for the president to step down: "Go Baba, Go!" But the more recent sight of Zardari being sworn in by Khan was in complete contrast to the earlier performance.

"I have symbolized for the people of Pakistan, a democratic, liberal, and egalitarian country. That is why I have retained their respect and affection. My husband had charges trumped up against him so that I would be driven out of politics. I am proud to say that not only did he honorably face those charges, but he was acquitted even by the kangaroo courts that were trying him," she told reporters recently in response to questions about her life since being ousted from office. She maintains that the charges and court proceedings against her husband were part of a smear campaign against the PDA.

Bhutto's participation in the new administration, however, has not ended her disagreements with the president and interim Prime Minister Balakh Sher Mazari. Bhutto is demanding that last month's dissolution of the National Assembly be followed by the dissolution of the four provincial assemblies as well, so that free and fair elections are held simultaneously in the center and the provinces. Both Khan and Mr. Mazari have refused to accept that demand.

Bhutto calls elections rigged

"What we need in this country is real democracy; that is the exercise of power by the parliament. At the moment, I do not feel confident that we are heading in that direction. At the moment, we have four provincial assemblies in which people were elected during the rigged elections of 1990, and it's my concern that the new government will be unable to function in the presence of four hostile provincial governments," she added. Since her government's dismissal in 1990, Bhutto has also repeatedly demanded the dissolution of the elected assemblies on the grounds that their members were elected in polls that were rigged against her party in a number of constituencies.

She has also repeatedly demanded that the president's wide-ranging powers, which allow him to dissolve the elected assemblies, should be curtailed. Those powers have been used to sack three elected governments since 1988.

NANEEN/AFP

BENAZIR BHUTTO: *She wants her country to move beyond its present state of a "façade of democracy."*

Bhutto's future

It is not yet clear if Bhutto will remain in the new government if the differences are not resolved. Some of her aides say the split between her and the government may widen further if those differences continue.

Bhutto says she wants to see her country move beyond its present state of a "façade of democracy," where the president and influential officials around him call the shots. Bhutto makes no secret about her desire to become prime minister again.

"I know the people of Pakistan are with me. I know in a free election, the people of Pakistan would vote for me. But I know there are powerful elements who oppose what I stand for, and they will go out of their way to prevent the people of Pakistan from having me as prime minister," she added.

Despite her confidence, Bhutto is faced with critics who see considerable support for her main rival, Mr. Sharif, and a dent in her own support because she has joined the interim government.

The long, hot electoral campaign, followed by polls in July, is expected to test Bhutto's popularity. But the next two and a half months are not only going to be crucial for Bhutto, but also for Pakistan's democracy.

South Africa's Right Wing Circles Its Wagons

Government, ANC join forces to curb influence of new right-wing coalition, which may politicize security forces

By John Battersby
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA

THE ruling National Party and the African National Congress (ANC) have moved swiftly to neutralize a new right-wing initiative that is threatening to divide and politicize the security forces and obstruct South Africa's stalled transition to democracy.

The Volksfront (People's Front), as the new umbrella group is known, has vowed to thwart planned multiparty control of the security forces in the run-up to the country's first multiparty elections. It seeks self-determination for the white Afrikaner minority, and has stated it will use all means at its disposal.

The emergence of former South African Defense Force chief Constand Viljoen – aided by a committee of former Army and police generals – as the spokesman of the front, has given the right wing a new authority and raised a threat of divided loyalties within the security forces.

The formation of the Volksfront came just hours before the multiparty negotiating forum decided on May 7 to set a date before June 3 for the country's first democratic elections, which, the negotiators agreed, should be held not later than the end of April 1994.

The issue of multiparty control of the security forces had become one of the major obstructions in the negotiating process.

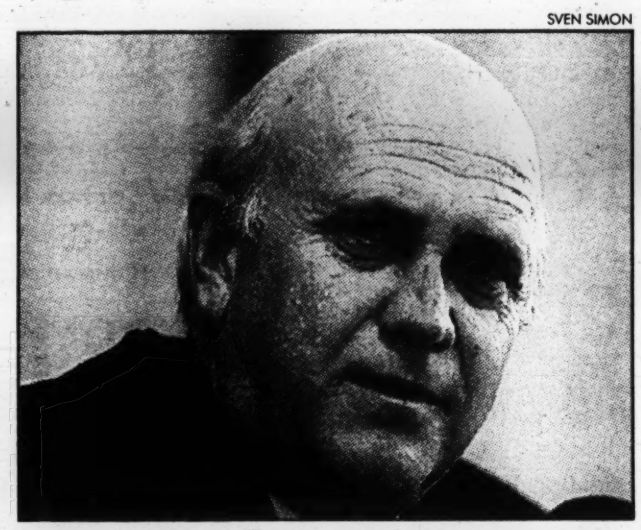
President Frederik de Klerk responded to the new right-wing challenge Saturday, saying his government would use the full might of the state to ensure the swift installation of a non-racial government of national unity and to prevent extremists from plunging the country into a "Bosnian-like civil war."

"Any attempts to undermine the integrity of the security forces or to subvert their loyalty to the state are viewed in an extremely serious light," he said, directing his statement at the Volksfront's implied bid to recruit the security forces to its cause.

The ANC, which has strongly condemned the objectives of the new right-wing front, took two surprise steps to ease the new threat to Mr. De Klerk.

ANC officials backed down from their long-standing insistence that the security forces be placed under multiparty control during the run-up to the country's first democratic ballot. They explained the switch by saying they were not prepared to take joint responsibility for any excessive use of force by the security forces in the run-up to the elections.

SVEN SIMON



FREDERIK DE KLERK: *South Africa's president said he would use the full might of the state to counter any extremist threats against the transition to democracy.*

The ANC's National Working Committee, a kind of inner cabinet, also decided over the weekend to hold a three-day bush summit this week to discuss the right-wing developments and, particularly, internal measures to prevent ANC members from fueling right-wing resistance.

In the wake of the assassination of South African Communist Party (SACP) leader Chris Hani, the president of the ANC Youth League, Peter Mokaba, stirred a national controversy by chanting at an ANC rally the slogan: "Kill a Boer, kill a farmer."

The slogan has sparked a wave of right-wing anger around the country, and was quoted by almost every speaker at a May 6 public meeting of 7,000 angry white farmers in the Afrikaner university town of Potchefstroom about 120 miles southwest of here.

Despite demands from government and right-wing groups that the ANC discipline Mr. Mokaba for his remarks, Mokaba has defended his utterances and has not faced any disciplinary measures.

ANC negotiator and Communist Party Chairman Joe Slovo said May 9 he was encouraged by De Klerk's weekend warnings. In an interview yesterday with the financial daily Business Day, Mr. Slovo said that the long-term aim of the retired generals behind the new right-wing mobilization effort could be a coup. But he doubted whether they had a strong enough base to succeed in their goal.

The Afrikaans-language daily, Beeld, reported yesterday that the ANC had agreed in talks with senior SADF generals recently that its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) – which comprises an estimated 12,000 to 14,000 soldiers – would be incorporated into the SADF before an election.

Democratic Party director James Selfe, who is regarded as an authority on the SADF, says that concerns of a coup were exaggerated and that there were both positive and negative aspects to the emergence of General Viljoen's party.

"On the one hand the right wing is looking for a leader who can transcend the divisions in their own ranks," Mr. Selfe says. "This would make it easier to deal with the right. What is worrying is that the new initiative has a kind of paramilitary bent to it."

The Volksfront seeks to unite the major right-wing parties and fill the vacuum left by the death three weeks ago of Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht.

Wim Booyse, a political risk analyst, says the new front could marginalize extremist leaders like Eugene Terre Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, and curb the rapid growth of paramilitary organizations in the wake of Treurnicht's death.

He says that if the front succeeds in unifying the right wing, it could reverse the dangerous fragmentation of the right into smaller groups more likely to engage in violence and terrorism.

Viljoen insists that the group is not "militarily oriented" and that he has neither political ambitions nor party-political affiliations.

But the stature and authority which he derives from his term as SADF chief until 1985 has sounded alarm bells in government circles.

The right-wing groups – which are deeply divided on the tactics of resisting black majority rule – have yet to agree on their political goals and the means of resistance they will use to achieve their vague political demand for self-determination.

Some favor the continuation of apartheid, others want a limited white homeland, and a third group is prepared to settle for special guarantees and decentralized powers in a federal system.

Colorado Party Takes Surprising Lead in Paraguay's Vote

IN a surprise reversal of opinion poll forecasts, the civilian presidential candidate backed by Paraguay's military, Juan Carlos Wasmosy, took the lead, according to early returns after the May 8 elections. Voter turnout was reportedly at least 70 percent.

Opinion polls for the past two months made Christian Democrat Guillermo Caballero Vargas of the National Encounter Party the favorite.

But Mr. Wasmosy, candidate of the conservative Colorado Party that has dominated political life here for almost 40 years, appeared to have retained all its traditional countryside votes to emerge as the front-runner.

Mr. Wasmosy, a rich businessman and landowner, was the protégé of outgoing President Andrés Rodríguez Pedotti, and had strong backing from the top echelons of the armed forces, which openly threatened to act if an opposition candidate won.

Wasmosy's Colorado Party has inextricably close historic ties to the Army and the government, and was the political organization of dictator Gen. Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda, who was ousted after a 35-year rule in February 1989.

It also is the party of President Rodríguez, the general who led the coup that toppled General Stroessner, and then was elected president himself three months later. He did not stand for re-election.

Ruling on Venezuela's president

Venezuela's military leadership, moving to quell public fears of another coup attempt, pledged Sunday to respect an imminent Supreme Court ruling that could topple the country's president, Carlos Andrés Pérez.

In a rare public display of unity, Defense Minister Ivan Dario Jimenez Sanchez denied published reports the military is divided over how to respond after the ruling on whether to try President Pérez on corruption charges.

"We will respect the decision of the Supreme Court," Mr. Jimenez Sanchez said in a statement broadcast by state television. "We will allow no one to harm the democracy.

"There might have been coup attempts, subversive acts, and a lot of problems, but the armed forces are united and we guarantee there will be no coup d'etat."

Pérez and two former ministers face charges of embezzlement and misuse of funds.

They allegedly bought $17 million of US currency, at a preferential exchange rate against the Venezuelan bolívar, and then sold the dollars on the free market for about $10 million in profit.

The government has denied the charges and insisted the sum was used for state security. But Pérez has said he cannot reveal exactly how the funds were spent because security matters are classified.

Chief Justice Gonzalo Rodríguez Corro has handed high court members a report in which he favors trying Pérez. The court must now rule by May 25 on whether there is merit to the case. A trial would, by law, force the president to step aside.

Brazil's finance minister may resign

Brazil's Finance Minister, Eliseu Resende, is reportedly considering resigning his post. He would be the third finance minister in five months to resign from that position.

Mr. Resende has been accused of using his office to benefit a former employer. Apparently, government loans of $18 million to Ecuador and $136 million to Peru were granted for projects to be executed by the Brazilian construction firm Norberto Odebrecht, for which Resende was a consultant from 1983 to 1990.

– Compiled by Faye Bowers

SPECIAL REPORT

AMERICA'S HIGH-TECH POLICY CHALLENGE

US Needs a Policy For Technological Future, CEOs Say

By Laurent Belsie
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ALTOS, CALIF.

SMACK in the middle of California's Silicon Valley, computer legend Gordon Bell is on his living room floor, crouched over a bright red fire truck.

"Start the engines!" he says, pressing a button on the toy. It whirs, enginelike, for a few seconds. He presses the button again and says: "Let's move it now!" The truck runs forward about two feet.

"An American company probably made the [computer] chip," he says. But the truck was made in China. Every other electronic gadget in his living room is foreign-made too. "You can't even buy an American product," the former Digital Equipment Corporation executive sighs.

That fire truck says a lot about America's high-technology challenge. It's not just Japanese electronics companies racing against the United States. It's a new world where Chinese toymakers can use leading-edge technologies to turn out competitive products. Technology is not just spreading abroad, it is diffusing into more and more industries, blurring the line between what is high-tech and what's not.

Faced with this new world, the Clinton administration's challenge is to define America's place in it. It is a grand experiment: a nation of 250 million people trying to maintain the high-skill industries and keep the high-wage jobs that billions of other people are competing for. "Increasingly, what we can do, they can do," says Intel chief executive Andrew Grove. "We've got a big, big challenge ahead of us."

Even if the administration didn't act, powerful currents of change are pushing the nation toward a new and as-yet ill-defined place in this high-tech order. President Clinton promises a firm hand on the tiller. No one knows how well he will be able to steer.

In his office outside Washington, D.C., Dave Lehman pulls out a sheet of graph paper and draws a gently downward sloping line. "This is the analog world," he says. "Sony and Panasonic are driving down it. Every year your VCR gets a little cheaper."

He draws a second line that slopes down sharply, crossing the first. "This is the digital world," he says. "The Apples and AT&Ts are rapidly driving down this line." US companies are nearing the intersection at which their new digital technology will be as cheap as Japan's older analog technology. After that, Mr. Lehman warns, watch out! The companies that build digital products will have the advantage.

"I am unabashedly American in this," he adds. His own start-up company, TV Answer, hopes to manufacture digital products for interactive television.

Other high-tech executives are not so sanguine. After all, Japan and Europe are building more digital products too. But the technological shift is allowing the US to get back into the race. Economics may help. With the value of the dollar at record lows against the Japanese yen, US products are more competitively priced. "We may, with the yen-to-dollar situation, have a slight edge on cost," says Ed Sack, chief executive officer of Zilog Inc., a small chipmaker in Campbell, Calif. "But I think it would become very easy to become complacent and lose it again."

US policy is undergoing a sea change. The cold war – the underlying rationale for 45 years of federal research and development – has given way to an era of defense cuts. The US can take a tougher stance on trade issues with allies. Mr. Clinton can also shift federal R&D resources from defense to civilian projects **(national labs and other agencies cooperate with industry, Page 10)**.

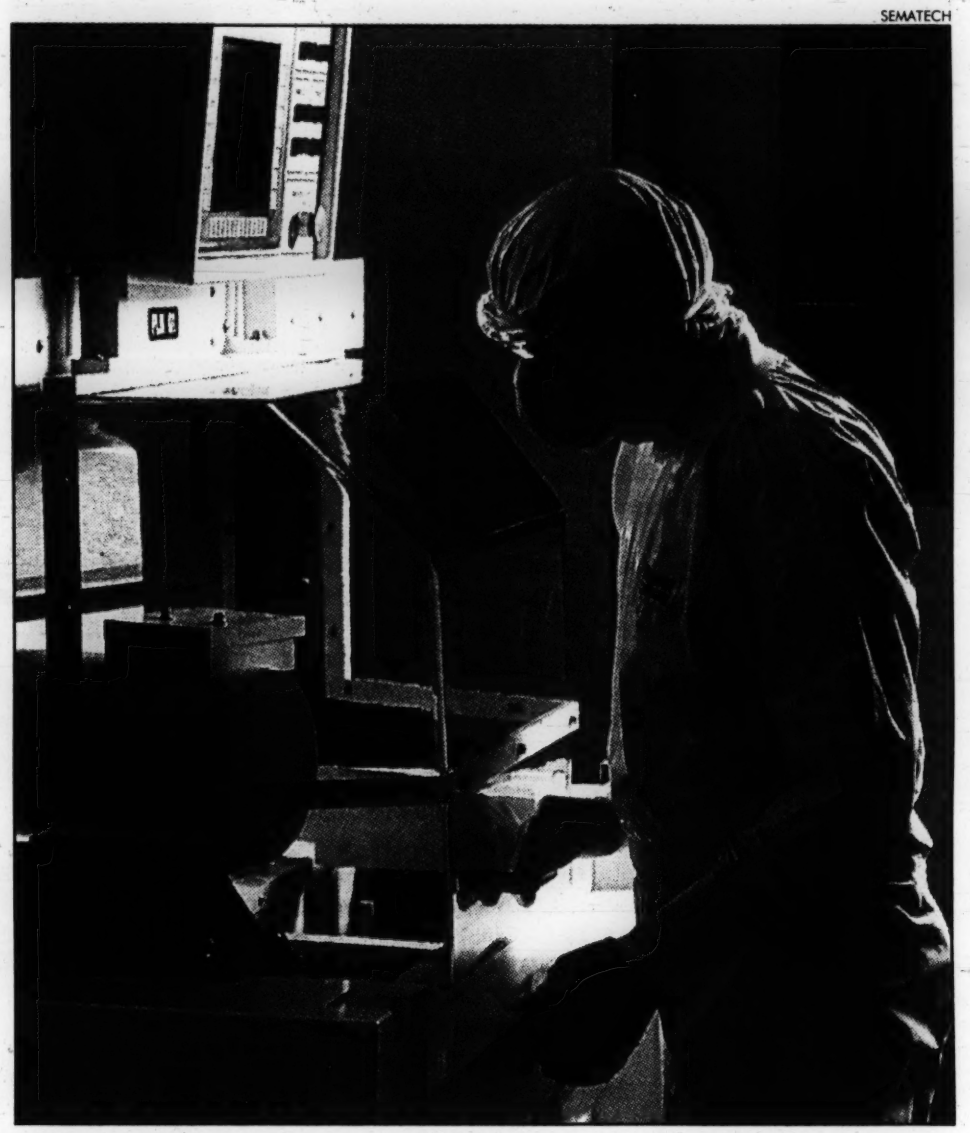
There is plenty of skepticism about current R&D policies.

See **POLICY** *page 12*

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S TECHNOLOGY GOALS

- Expand support for basic science in the nation's national laboratories. Place more emphasis on nondefense goals.
- Make permanent a modest tax credit for industrial research and development.
- Encourage companies in the same industry to jointly research generic technologies.
- Promote research partnerships between companies and national labs or the Commerce Department's National Institute of Standards and Technology. Expand NIST funding from from $384 million this year to $1.4 billion by 1997.
- Expand NIST's nationwide Manufacturing Technology Centers from seven to more than 100; these help small businesses adopt new technology.
- Aim a higher percentage of Pentagon research money at "dual-use" technologies that have both civilian and military applications.
- Target more research money at specific areas of national interest: a telecommunications "superhighway," environmental technology such as clean cars, and magnetic-levitation railroads.

SEMATECH



SEMATECH AT WORK: *The government-aided alliance of semiconductor firms is a model of the kind of research-and-development projects the White House wants to encourage.*

Nations Compete to Foster Leading-Edge Industries

By Ron Scherer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

IN the global battle for high-tech leadership, the key question is not whether governments should have a technology policy but what policies work best. Even the United States has encouraged some technologies for defense purposes. US competitors target civilian industries directly.

Europe has plowed more government money into civilian high-tech projects than either Japan or the US and it has less to show for it. The European Community is debating plans to spend $9 billion to $14 billion over the next four years on high-tech projects.

Japan's government – generally credited with playing a role in the country's high-tech success – is shifting its focus from guiding specific industries to aiding basic scientific research.

Australia, like other relative newcomers to the game, is boosting its efforts. Annual research-and-development funding has tripled in the past decade to $2 billion.

Reports on three US competitors follow:

Japan

For the next five years Japanese researchers will be working on basic technology for industrial uses of complex carbohydrates, a fundamental material in living bodies.

This project, begun in 1989, is indicative of a shift occurring at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), the agency that funds much of Japan's government support of technology. Rather than trying to target industries, "MITI is now funding broader-based technologies which may be useful to a wider array of industries," says Martha Harris, director, Office of Japan Affairs at the National Research Council, an arm of the National Academies of Sciences and Engineering, a private nonprofit group.

MITI divides its technology projects into five categories: "large-scale" research and development projects such as a new super/hypersonic transport propulsion system; "next generation" developments such as the carbohydrate technology; "moonlight" energy research such as a project to develop a more efficient electric power system using superconducting technology; "sunshine" alternative energy projects such as coal liquefaction; and "key technology" funding for projects such as an automatic-translation telephone or high-definition television.

In addition, Japan's Science and Technology Agency funds separate projects including basic research at universities and research labs.

See **OVERSEAS** *page 11.*

States Offer Funds, Know-How, And Research Aid to Firms

By Mark Trumbull
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

JOHN HODGMAN is a venture capitalist with a difference: He's part of the state government. As president of the Massachusetts Technology Development Corporation, he invests in high-tech companies that promise to bring jobs to the state but are having trouble attracting capital.

"The state has been doing this for longer than most people have thought," Mr. Hodgman says. The Bay State solidified its position as a technology innovator when it founded the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the 19th century, he notes. From its founding, MIT has aimed to move research into private-sector applications.

SPECIAL REPORT
AMERICA'S HIGH-TECH POLICY CHALLENGE

In the last decade, many states tried to follow suit. Daunted by a severe recession in 1981 that revealed cracks in America's manufacturing base, states tried to foster high-tech companies and their high-wage jobs.

Forty-five of the 50 states have at least one state-run technology program. These include support for university research relevant to the local industry needs, venture capital funds, and technology transfer programs to help businesses adopt new or existing technology.

Analysts say the strength of these programs is their closeness to local businesses and the needs of the regional economies. But this can also be a drawback, in terms of the broad national interest.

The effort of localities to attract high-tech jobs and research activity with tax breaks or other economic incentives can become a bidding war, after which "very little has been accomplished," says Irwin Feller of Pennsylvania State University. For the most part, he notes, "states will fund the research centers [in industries] where they have a competitive advantage," Dr. Feller says.

Robert Atkinson, a senior analyst with the Office of Technology Assessment, views the state programs as largely positive. Dr. Atkinson suggests that states do best with programs that support research relevant to a local industry, while basic research or broader projects are best left to the federal government. A program like the Sematech consortium, for example, involves companies in many states, aided by federal funding, doing research in generic technologies for chipmaking.

Atkinson worries that some state venture funds aren't taking enough risks. In some cases they invest where the private sector would have done so anyway, he notes.

Hodgman says the Massachusetts fund only gets involved in companies – six or seven a year – that couldn't otherwise get going. When he finds private investors ready to do a deal, he simply passes the projects along.

Even after this, the state's investments have a strong track record. Of the 64 companies the state fund has invested in since its founding in 1978, 14 have gone on to make public stock offerings, 11 have been acquired by other firms, and three have bought out the state's equity. Only seven have ceased operations. The agency has been self-financing aside from a start-up infusion of $8 million.

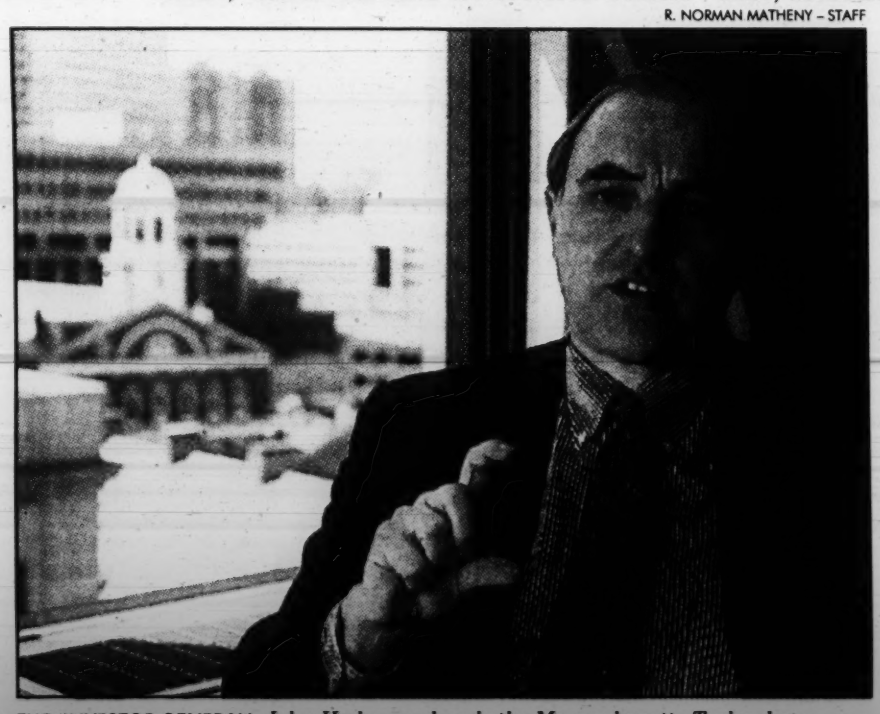
The fastest-growing state technology programs, Atkinson says, are efforts to transfer new technologies from labs to small businesses. He says about one-third of the states have reasonably good "manufacturing extension centers," modeled on similar programs that spread agricultural techniques. But even the good programs don't have a lot of money.

The Clinton administration wants to create a Commerce Department network of 100 or more Manufacturing Outreach Centers, similar to the state ones, and to assist state extension programs. The centers would all be linked by computer to increase access to information.

"We need a balanced strategy," Atkinson says, supporting the state/federal mix.

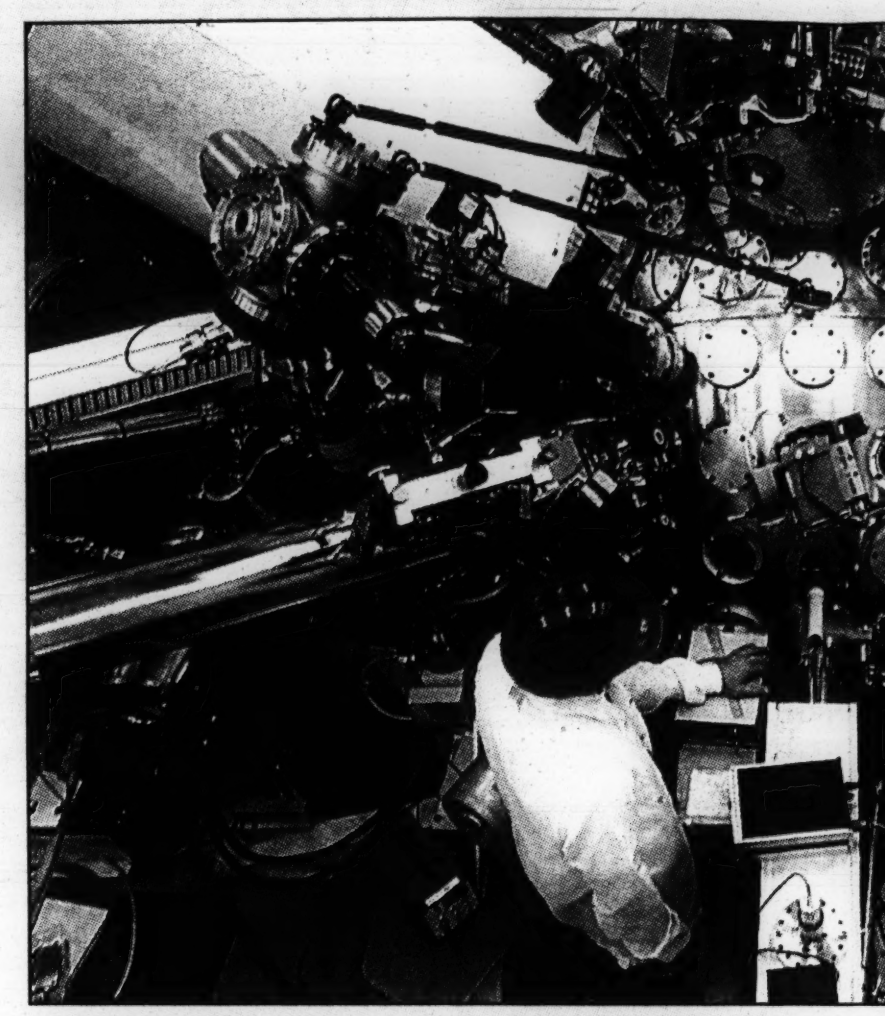
High-tech outlays vary widely from state to state, according to a study by Atkinson. On a regional basis, the Northeast spends about $2.15 cents per capita each year, the Midwest $1.98, the South $1.48, and the West $1.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



THE 'INVESTOR GENERAL': *John Hodgman heads the Massachusetts Technology Development Corporation, which invests in start-up high-tech companies.*

About half the total spending goes to aid university-based research. Most of that money is plowed into "university research centers," which often focus on an area of particular importance to the regional economy, such as biotechnology. A second, narrower, type of program gives "university research grants" for specific projects, often matched by industry funding. While some observers laud the new partnership with the private sector, Feller worries that universities will lose their focus on knowledge as a "public good" to be disseminated widely.



LASER TARGET CHAMBER, LAWRENCE LIVERMORE NATIONAL LABORATORY: *Clinton wants t*

Federal Labs Open

By Scott Pendleton
Staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor

AUSTIN, TEXAS

PRESIDENT Clinton has a historic opportunity to reshape federal involvement in research and development.

With the end of the cold war, Washington has already moved to make government-operated laboratories more available to the private sector for R&D joint ventures. The new administration aims to go further down this road.

The effort is controversial, however, because it amounts to having bureaucrats bet taxpayer money on a technology horse race. Murray Weidenbaum, an economist who directs the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis, cites a long history of similarly intended government misspending and misguidance – and not just here.

Japanese bureaucrats tried to discourage Sony from pursuing consumer electronics and Honda from making cars, Dr. Weidenbaum notes. Japan's approach to high-definition television, selected and underwritten by that government, has proven inferior to technology that American companies have developed unaided.

One of the most prominent government-industry partnerships in the United States, and one that is hailed by enthusiasts of such arrangements as a model to follow, is Sematech. The six-year-old consortium brings together a dozen of the largest US makers of computer chips to conduct precompetitive research in advanced fabrication technologies. Half of the $200 million annual cost is paid by the Advanced Projects Research Agency (ARPA) at the Department of Defense.

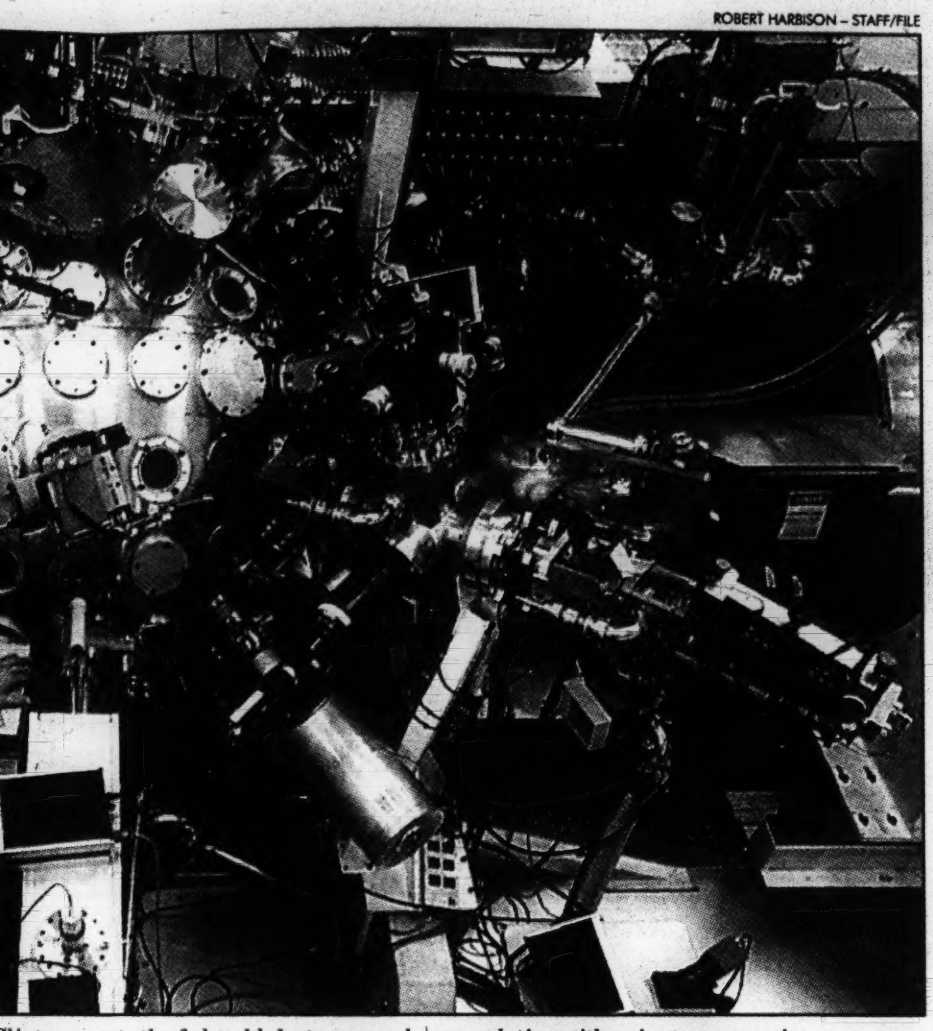
Sematech was quick to claim some of the credit when the US recently caught up with Japan in worldwide sales of chips.

"Sematech didn't help," scoffs T. J. Rodgers, a vocal critic who is president and chief executive officer of Cypress Semiconductor Corporation in San Jose, Calif. Rather, Mr. Rodgers asserts, aggressive, innovative young companies like his own breathed new life into the industry. And the older "dinosaurs" like Sematech's members decided to wake up and compete.

Weidenbaum agrees that the US rebound was "not especially connected to Sematech's efforts." However, he does find merit in the loosening of antitrust laws that (at no cost to taxpayers) allows companies to cooperate on research.

Jerry Sanders, chairman of Advanced Micro Devices, a Sematech member, says that government funding in partnerships such as Sematech can give the US an edge by helping to accelerate the development of technology.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE



Clinton wants the federal labs to expand research ties with private companies.

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Under Mr. Clinton's policy, the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) in the Department of Commerce would receive a boost in funding to promote ventures like Sematech.

One that already has ARPA funding and seeks NIST money as well is the Composites Automation Consortium. Consortium president Leiv Blad explains that makers of products from composite materials "really weren't driven by cost and market forces" back when the Defense Department was buying all their output. That market is drying up, so now the consortium members such as Dow Chemical and Lockheed want the government to help develop cost-saving machinery so it can compete in commercial markets.

CLINTON also wants more money for the national laboratories, which developed nuclear weapons and did civilian research in areas such as energy and space exploration. The president said the labs should allocate 10 to 20 percent of their roughly $22 billion budget to joint research ventures with private companies.

"You'll find a lot of the labs are either there or above that," says Alan Schriesheim, director of Argonne National Laboratories outside Chicago. Congress has passed numerous laws to enable the private sector to benefit from research at the national labs. Argonne alone has spun off 30 companies to commercialize its research. Dr. Schriesheim says he expects Clinton to make the process even easier, but that the resulting increase in joint research will be "evolutionary and not revolutionary."

Weidenbaum recommends privatizing the labs, saying that then business would be more likely to use them to design new products.

Andrew Grove, the chief executive officer of Intel Corporation, the leading chipmaker, suggests cutting the national labs' budget by 50 percent. "They're doing cold war stuff," he says.

Sandia National Laboratories in Albuquerque, N.M., is one of three national labs that used to be devoted to nuclear weapons. Some of that work must continue, spokesman Rod Geer says. But already, Mr. Geer says, more than half of Sandia's research concerns other fields. The lab has 95 cooperative research and development agreements with private companies, including Sematech.

Gordon Bell, former head of engineering at Digital Equipment Corporation, is "adamantly against the national labs." But Danny Hillis, founder of Thinking Machines, calls them "a source of great technological expertise. To throw out these institutions would be to throw away a national asset."

■ *Staff writer Laurent Belsie contributed to this report.*

Nations Compete to Win High-Tech Jobs

OVERSEAS from page 9

"I don't think there are any signs Japan will change its interest in supporting civilian R&D," says Dr. Harris, who believes the effort has been largely successful.

But not all MITI efforts have been winners. In 1981, the agency began an effort to develop a "fifth generation" computer, which was supposed to be able to think. Over 10 years, eight companies worked in a brand new government laboratory. Analysts say the project did not produce any new fundamental technical advances or marketable products.

Yet there may have been a silver lining in the failure. Like many of MITI's projects today, the computing involved a public-private partnership of many companies. "It did cause the industry to do some coordination, they all learned at the same rate and they did not spend money separately to find out something was not going to work," says Jan Herring, vice president for business intelligence and strategy at the Futures Group in Glastonbury, Conn.

Europe

In 1986, the European Community (EC) began a $740 million effort to set the standards for high-definition TV. In February it abandoned the project.

To some analysts, the failure symbolizes Europe's difficulties in translating science into technology. "It's been a bottom-up kind of approach to try to make Europe competitive in technology. It just has not been successful since it has had the flaw of trying to pick winners in technologies," Mr. Herring says.

In a document issued last October, the EC itself admitted an "essential weakness of the European research system," including a lack of investment in industrial research and the inability of businesses to convert scientific and technological breakthroughs into commercial success.

The document proposed concentrating its efforts for 1994-98 on a small number of key technologies. The program, said the report, should be guided by "continuity and novelty."

There is certainly a fair amount of novelty. The proposal suggests using science and technology "in the struggle against social exclusion," looking at how science and technology relates to the urban environment, and researching ways to preserve European cultural heritage.

The program, to be finalized in June, has already become a target. In an April 14 report the European Policy Forum, a London think tank, said the EC was using technology policy "more as a political chess piece in a game of industrial subsidy than a means of strengthening Europe's base in science and engineering."

The European Policy Forum calls Europe's technology policy 'a political chess piece in a game of industrial subsidy.'

Walter Hirche, economic affairs minister in Brandenburg state, Germany, wants to encourage universities to have a closer relationship with the corporate world. "There is no concept of how to profit or make profitable the tax money in the institution."

Australia

Isolated people in the bush will soon be able be able to connect with fellow Australians via a satellite-based mobile phone system – the first in the world. Meanwhile, an Australian microwave guidance system helps airplanes land on the country's runways.

These are two of many innovations developed in cooperative ventures between the government, scientific research organizations, and industry.

As a country with an commodity-based economy, Australia has not had much money for R&D. The private sector has one of the lowest rates of R&D investment among industrial nations. So the government promotes research activity through several programs, including:

The Commonwealth Scientific and Industry Research Organization. Funded 70-percent by government, CSIRO conducts research projects with industrial partners.

The Generic Industry Research and Development Scheme. A company with an idea it wants to develop links up with a university or CSIRO and then applies for a government grant.

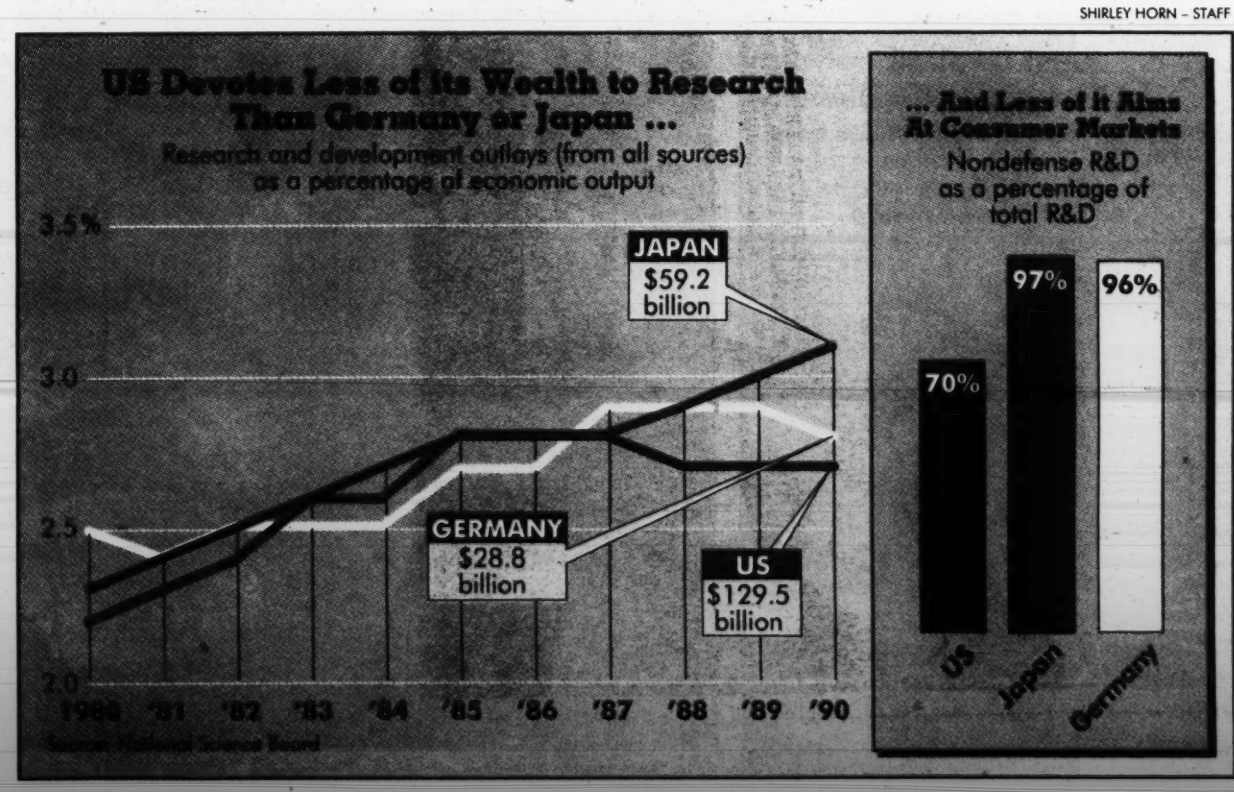
Cooperative research centers. University campuses are home to 50 of these focused research bodies, which collaborate with industry on research in the natural sciences and engineering.

In addition the government provides a 150-percent tax incentive for R&D investment.

Foreign firms operating here must contribute to the process by signing agreements with the government to set up local R&D and to export out of Australia. The latest deal, signed April 20, is with Taiwan's Acer Inc., one of the top 10 personal-computer manufacturers. The four-year agreement is part of a program aimed at expanding Australia's information-technology industry.

■ *Staff writer Catherine Foster contributed to this report from Sydney.*

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



CEOs Call For Technology Policy

POLICY from page 9

Last August, a National Science Board study concluded that the nation's civilian R&D spending has grown at a slower pace than that of major competitors and that important areas of research, such as process technology, were falling between the cracks. States, as well as the federal government, are trying to address these issues **(state technology policies, Page 10)**.

In the middle of these shifting currents, the Clinton administration has launched a policy emphasizing: 1) environmental technology, especially a more benign automobile 2) a high-speed computer and communications infrastructure (so-called "information superhighways," 3) technology transfer from federal labs to factory floors, 4) modest increases in tax breaks for business investment, 5) modernizing federal agencies through technology and 6) more funds for basic research at universities.

"The good news is we know what needs to be done," says Vice President Al Gore Jr. "We know how to do it.... And we have established models to help us avoid mistakes. So for all these reasons I think there is cause for tremendous optimism for the beginning of a new era of US competitiveness in all of these fields."

In fact, the US has fairly few established models to rely on for government-industry joint ventures. So, while high-tech leaders generally support the more tried-and-true aspects of the Clinton program, they are more skeptical about its experimental components.

Some high-tech industries, such as software, are so strong that they are looking for government support only in trade and tax issues.

Others decry the government's contradictory policies. The White House's 1994 budget targets biotechnology as one of several critical areas for federal support. But the president also wants to stem drug-price increases as part of his health-care reforms, a move the industry says would slow innovation.

Yet many executives are willing to have government experiment.

"We need greater alignment among industry, government, educational institutions, and labor than ever before," says Motorola chairman George Fisher.

When Clinton and Mr. Gore talk about improving the nation's information infrastructure just about everyone applauds. "We think that kind of leadership at the administration level can bring that vision to the fore," says AT&T chairman Robert Allen.

It's when the administration proposes to move government closer to the marketplace that debate sharpens.

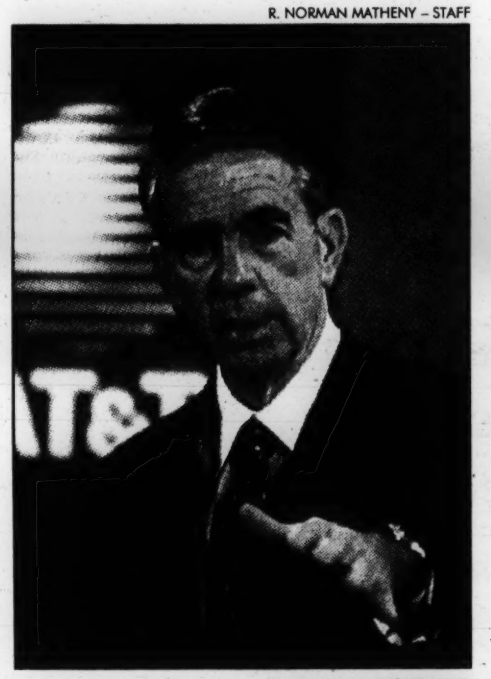
Buried within the bowels of the Defense Department is the tiny Advanced Research Projects Agency. ARPA funds experimental technologies that it considers vital to national security.

So a few years ago when T. J. Rodgers, the outspoken boss of a Silicon Valley chipmaker, set out to expose federal high-tech boondoggles, the agency was one of his targets. The conservative Mr. Rodgers (his office sports a poster of former President Reagan) was surprised at what he found. Instead of waste and inefficiency, he found technical expertise. Instead of pork-barrel projects, he found a tiny agency with worthy projects and tremendous support from venture capitalists.

"You can sum it up in one sentence: small science," Rodgers says. He crossed DARPA – as it was then known – off his list of government boondoggles. (Clinton recently dropped the word "Defense" from the agency title, making it ARPA.)

Why is ARPA so successful? Observers say it is well-managed, technically expert, out of the limelight, and small.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



The Clinton administration envisions the growth of fiber-optic 'information superhighways,' constructed by the private sector but encouraged by government regulatory changes and research aid.
'We think that kind of leadership at the administration level can bring that vision to the fore.'

– Robert Allen, chief executive officer, American Telephone & Telegraph Company

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

Even skeptics of government programs to aid research say the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency has successfully encouraged key technologies over the years. Observers attribute ARPA's skill to its small size and relative freedom from political pressure.
'You can sum it up in one sentence: small science.'

– T. J. Rodgers, chief executive officer of Cypress Semiconductor Corporation

With a budget mostly free of political wrangling, the agency has effectively promoted critical new technologies that companies hadn't dared to fund.

Thus, ARPA belies the old argument that government can't pick winners and losers. "In technology, we are already making choices," says Dan Burton, executive vice president of the private-sector Council on Competitiveness. "So let's just review our priorities."

What's unknown is whether such small-time experiments will work in the big time. Complaints have cropped up around one of the agency's successes: massively parallel processing or MPP computers. The General Accounting Office is expected to release a report soon that, while not finding any wrongdoing, criticizes ARPA for promoting some MPP computers over others.

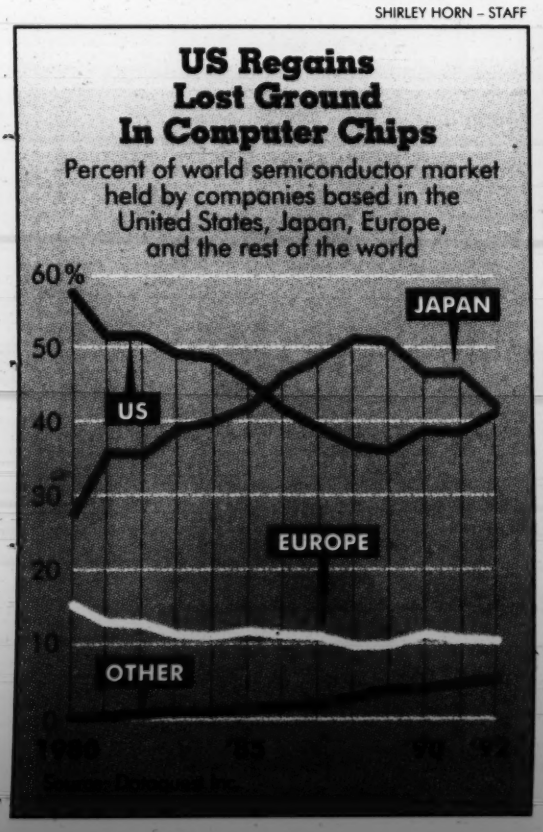
"The government has had a very significant role in stimulating the development of the technology and putting a halo of correctness around massive parallelism," says Jeff Kalb, president of MasPar Computer. But "if the government continues to support machines after you are past the research phase, then the best ideas don't necessarily win out – just the ones that get subsidized." His company did not get federal aid.

The criticism has caused ARPA to clean up its act, Mr. Kalb adds. But the battle is a portent of things to come.

As Washington pours in more dollars and encourages more commercial activities, the stakes surrounding federal high-tech will go up. Companies will lobby harder and complain louder when their machines aren't picked. Will congressmen resist the temptation to lobby for home-district companies? And perhaps a bigger question: When does the government pull out of a project to commercialize a technology? The line between the research phase and the market phase is awfully hazy.

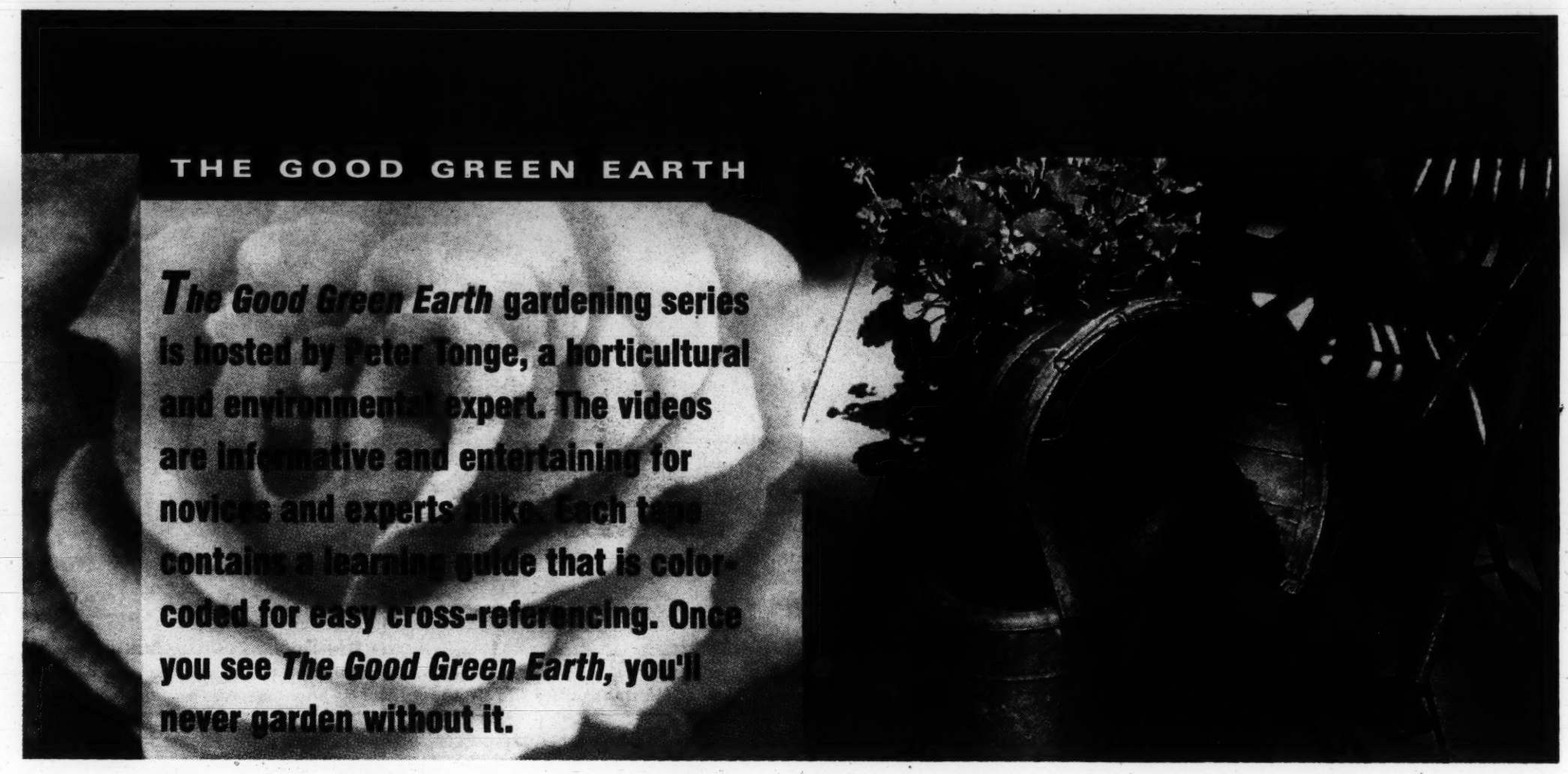
"Yes, there's a great risk of pork," adds Bennett Harrison, political economy professor at Carnegie Mellon University. "And it's worth the risk."

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF/FILE

SILICON WAFERS: *Chip-based 'digital' products, a US strength, are overtaking 'analog' systems.*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COMMUNITY

Atlanta Project Aims to Revive The Inner City

'Cluster' residents and local donors pitch in to end urban blight from the grass roots up

By Elizabeth Levitan Spaid
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ATLANTA

FROM one corner to another, Victoria Durant-Gonzalez's "cluster" in Atlanta is diverse. About 35,000 people – poor, affluent, homeless, blacks, whites, and a rainbow of other individuals – live in the neighborhood. Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthplace stands on a historic street. Not far away is a funky area of shops that cater to tie-dye types. There are 13 schools and scores of churches.

This is the Grady Cluster, and Ms. Durant-Gonzalez is the cluster coordinator. She and coordinators in 19 other Atlanta neighborhoods have the task of helping to solve some of the city's most daunting problems: crime, homelessness, drug abuse, substandard housing, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, and high numbers of school dropouts.

They are part of the Atlanta Project, former President Jimmy Carter's initiative to end poverty and improve life in Atlanta's inner city. The mammoth project, which Mr. Carter proposed in October 1991, taps the talent and time of thousands of community residents and volunteers, plus corporations, nonprofit organizations, and government agencies.

But unlike many other initiatives to help inner cities around the country, the project's objective is to enable community residents themselves, not experts, to find solutions to their problems.

"The Atlanta Project is about empowerment," Durant-Gonzalez says. "We listen to people. The sky's the limit on what we can do with it."

The project targets an area where about 500,000 people live, many in extreme poverty. In 1990, the United States Census Bureau ranked Atlanta the ninth poorest city in the US. Violent crime has increased by nearly 300 percent over the last five years, and an estimated 12,000 to 15,000 people are homeless.

The project has critics

Despite its grand plans, however, the Atlanta Project has its critics. Many are black leaders or officials with nonprofit organizations who charge that the project has failed to include them in the planning process, is inefficient, is taking away their funding sources, and has not appointed enough blacks to its top levels.

"I see it basically as a mainstream kind of white-bread effort that doesn't have a great deal of texture to it," says Richard McDevitt, president of the Georgia Alliance for Children. "The Atlanta Project looks like the 'war on poverty' warmed over."

PHOTOS BY ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

OUTREACH: *Victoria Durant-Gonzalez (r.), an Atlanta Project cluster coordinator, meets with Evelyn Lowery (c.), head of SCLC Women, and SCLC's Margie Shannon (l.); Ms. Lowery says the project impedes her fund-raising.*

The Atlanta Project's organizational structure is a traditional pyramid, but the most important ideas and efforts are supposed to come from the bottom – at the community level.

At the top, coordinator Dan Sweat directs six full-time professionals on the secretariat. Each professional is a volunteer on loan from an area company and has expertise in one of six areas: community development, economic development, criminal justice, health, education, and housing.

From their donated office space in Atlanta's old Sears building, these people oversee the project and assist cluster coordinators (such as Durant-Gonzalez and her assistant) in linking the communities with existing programs. The cluster coordinators work directly with the residents, listening to their concerns, motivating them to solve problems, and matching them with volunteers and resources.

The Atlanta Project had aimed to achieve its goals on a five-year, $26.5 million budget. But in just 18 months, $18 million and $14 million in services have poured in, mostly from corporations and foundations. The money will not be funneled directly to the poor or to programs that help the poor, however. Most funds will be used to pay for the Atlanta Project's staff and support operations.

"Right off the bat I had every consultant and every nonprofit and everybody else in town come and say, 'Here's the answer to the problem ... you give us $426,000 and we'll come in and we'll do this,' " Mr. Sweat says. "We say no. We will work as a group to try to connect resources, but we're not going to be a hand-out-money machine to anybody."

The Atlanta Project has spent most of its early months getting its wheels turning. That has included putting personnel in place, raising funds, and generating thousands of community and in-house meetings. More than 100,000 volunteers have pledged time and services.

Residents develop goals

So far, its biggest venture has been a month-long immunization drive in which volunteers went door-to-door locating children who hadn't been inoculated for various diseases. But most activity is generated by neighborhood residents who are responsible for developing their own goals.

"We're all dealing with the same big issues," says Ben Marsh, who supervises the 20 clusters. But "each has tried to come up with a vision." Although some clusters are still unorganized, he adds, others are making progress.

One cluster, nicknamed "Little Vietnam" because the crime problem is particularly bad, plans to rehabilitate public housing with a $33 million grant the Atlanta Project helped acquire from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. Parents are also volunteering to escort children to and from school in a crime-ridden area.

Residents in Durant-Gonzalez's cluster so far have identified several needs. These include preschool programs, youth programs, and a center for homeless people that will be open during the day as well as at night.

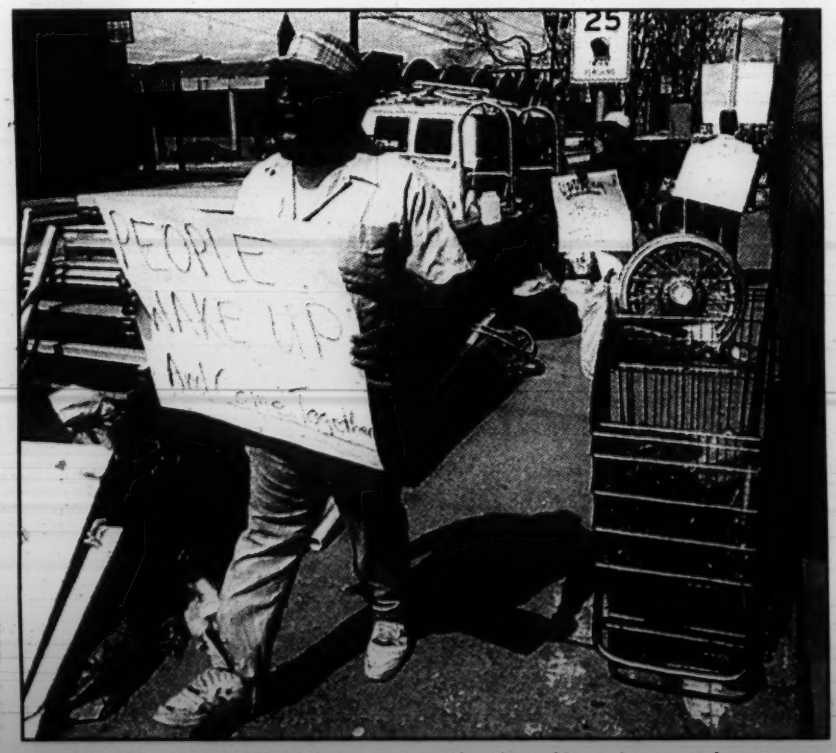
For Durant-Gonzalez, the past several months have been a whirlwind of meetings with residents as well as with organizations that already provide services in the community. Many times the people she meets with know little about the Atlanta Project and are skeptical about its mission.

On a sunny morning, she and an assistant are en route to a church where SCLC Women, an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, runs a program that helps women earn their high school diplomas and learn computer and other job skills.

Waiting for the Atlanta Project workers to arrive, Evelyn Lowery, the head of SCLC Women, explains that she didn't understand much about the project. She also says it has made her own hunt for funding more difficult – a concern echoed by many of the city's nonprofit groups. Now "when we call a corporation, they say they have already given to the Atlanta Project," Ms. Lowery says. "That doesn't help us."

Mr. McDevitt of the Georgia Alliance for Children is concerned about how the millions of dollars raised by the Atlanta Project will be spent. "They've got an agenda that wants to provide services like prenatal care and immunization, and there's no question that's lacking in the state," he says. "But who will sustain those gains over time? If they're capable of leveraging millions of dollars from corporations, I would think they would use their influence in getting those corporations to invest in the south side of Atlanta that has been completely neglected in terms of commerce and economic development."

"We're taking some heat from those who think we haven't done anything," Sweat acknowledges. "I've got big churches calling who say, 'When are you going to let us in?' And I say it's not a matter of us letting you in. We have to be invited into the neighborhoods ...." If the neighborhood doesn't take ownership and responsibility for seeing the program go forward, he says, it won't succeed.



SETBACKS: *Members of Uprising, an organization of homeless people, protest its eviction from a building the Atlanta Project helped it find.*

A Bittersweet Love Story of the Old South

By Michele Ross

THE best, most alive, most believable writing in this thick tome can be found in the last 10 pages – the afterword written by Eugenia Price. In those pages she talks about her research for this historical novel, about the support and love of her friends, and about her feelings for her beloved St. Simons Island in Georgia.

"I doubt that the early residents – the Coupers, Goulds, Caters, Armstrongs, Wyllys, Pages, Kings, Frasers, ... or any of those others, who lived on nineteenth-century St. Simons Island – thought much about the fact that they were making history of any kind," she says. "They simply shared one another in varying degrees of affection and loyalty – black and white – and as we do today, they shared the communal beauty of this singular Georgia barrier island."

As she talks – well, of course it's as she writes, but it sounds so warm and personal that you feel she is talking just to you – it is easy to understand why Price has attained legendary stature among her many readers and friends.

How wonderful it must be to be included in Eugenia Price's warm glow of friendship! How much fun it would be to see St. Simons Island (a place I have visited many times) through her wise and informed eyes.

Most impressive, though, is Price's obvious regard for the historical accuracy of this novel. "Where Shadows Go" is the second volume in the Georgia Trilogy ("Bright Captivity," published in 1991, was the first). Her fans will be glad to learn that the third novel in the trilogy, "Beauty from Ashes," is already under way.

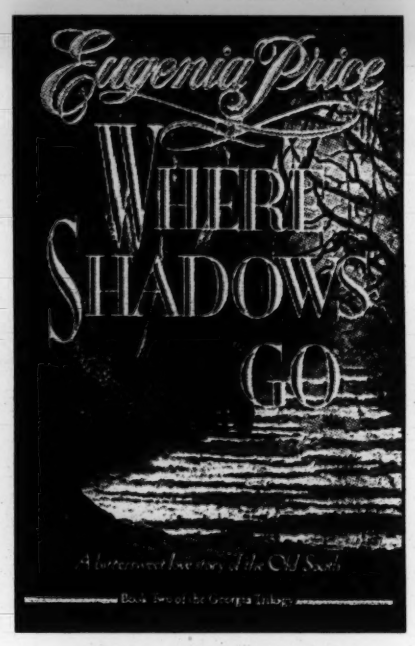
"Where Shadows Go" continues the story of John and Anne Couper Fraser as they return from London to live on St. Simons Island, Anne's home. Because this story is based on the lives of real people (some of whom are buried on St. Simons Island), Price explains, "These are basically true stories.... Knowing what lay ahead for book three of the Georgia Trilogy, I had no choice but to stick to the facts, heartbreaking as they were...."

And so, filled as I am with admiration for Price's meticulous research, her dignity, and the warm voice that rings clear in her writing, it is almost heartbreaking to report that "Where Shadows Go" isn't a very good book.

The characters may be based on real people, but they rarely seem real here. Anne Couper Fraser is the sweetest, most loyal wife in the world.

Her comfortable, slave-attended life seems to consist merely of one petty fret after another. We are constantly told how intelligent Anne is, but, based on her thoughts and dialogue, there's little evidence.

BOOKS



WHERE SHADOWS GO
By Eugenia Price
Doubleday, 646 pp., $22.50

She knows that her husband is troubled by owning slaves, and when John bids on slaves at his first auction, his father (who also opposes slavery) insists that John look each slave in the eye.

"No one knew better than Anne that John had said some puzzling things to her over the years...." Price writes. "Should she ask why Father Fraser made him promise to do such a strange thing as look into the eyes of each Negro he bought?"

Worse still, from a writing standpoint, the couple's conversation on this occasion disintegrates into a cliché-ridden discussion of eyes ("Do you also remember that our eyes seemed to embrace?").

And later, after something bad happens to someone else, this grown woman and the mother of children comes to a stunning conclusion:

"Clinging to him, Anne sobbed, 'John, John dearest, life is – life is dangerous, isn't it?' " If only Price's characters could talk as naturally as she herself does at the end of the book. Instead, the dialogue is painfully awkward and unnatural, almost expository in places.

The story goes on, but this reader's interest did not move forward with it.

There is no denying Eugenia Price's popularity. But in "Where Shadows Go," her concern with historical accuracy overrode the novel writer's attention to dialogue and the development of believable characters.

■ *Michele Ross, host of the CNN book show "Cover to Cover," lives in Atlanta.*

Talk of Security Comes to the Net

PLAYER security has seldom been a major concern in pro tennis, but it is sure to receive greater attention in the aftermath of the stabbing incident at the recent Citizen Cup in Hamburg, Germany. The knife-wielding spectator who assaulted Monica Seles reached over a low restraining rail while the world's top female player sat with her back turned during a service changeover.

The accused perpetrator, an avid fan of Steffi Graf, apparently was motivated by a desire to keep Seles from overshadowing Graf. Seles was returning to the circuit after an illness, but now will have to forego the French Open and probably Wimbledon, too, as she recovers in Vail, Colo.

SPORTS NOTEBOOK

Her inactivity might ordinarily lead to the loss of her No. 1 computer ranking to Graf, who visited her rival shortly after the incident occurred in Seles's match with Magdalena Maleeva. The Women's Tennis Association, however, is reportedly considering some method of minimizing the impact of the 19-year-old's absence on the rankings.

How tennis will respond to this sorry act remains to be seen. An immediate overreaction would be understandable, in terms of added and more visible security.

Over the long haul, however, it is hard to imagine that a great deal could or should be done. This sort of thing has not happened in the past, and there's no reason to expect it will happen, with any predictability, in the future.

As Seles herself said at a press conference last week, tennis officials "shouldn't get paranoid, but they need to improve security."

Players should certainly be stationed beyond the reach of spectators during changeovers – if for no other reason than to protect them from overaggressive autograph seekers. And closer shepherding of players to and from the locker room to the court may be advisable at some tournaments.

The real need in tennis, as in other sports, however, is to be aware of which athletes may need protection – not simply because they are major celebrities, and sometimes controversial ones, but also because they are national or political symbols, even if unintentionally.

Seles grew up in Yugoslavia. And although she has lived in the United States since age 12 and has tried to keep her distance from the animosity raging at home, even a neutral stance offends some. In fact, she has received death threats from Croats because of her Serbian Hungarian roots.

Surely, tournament officials must do all within their power to ensure the safest possible playing environment. It may be unreasonable, even unwise, though, to let one ugly occurrence dramatically alter the appealing proximity of players and fans.

One official at Wimbledon has said he doubts that fences are the answer. And certainly tall, forbidding ones would rob many tournaments of the special ambience they try to foster.

Basketball shooting masterpiece

When Michael Williams of the National Basketball Association's Minnesota Timberwolves shoots his first free-throw next season, the moment will hold great personal significance, even if it has little bearing on the game.

Williams, who ended the current season by making 84 straight free throws, will be trying to extend the league record he broke in Minnesota's April 25 season finale. On that occasion, he used his 10-for-10 marksmanship against Utah to erase Calvin Murphy's old NBA milestone of 78 straight, which had stood for 12 years.

Murphy, who was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame yesterday, remains unmatched for season-long accuracy. The closest anyone has ever come to his .958 percentage was .948, turned in this season by Cleveland's Mark Price, who made 77 consecutive free throws during one stretch.

– Ross Atkin

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ TUESDAY

The 28th Academy of Country Music Awards *(NBC, 8-11 p.m., E.T.)*: Country music has long since "crossed over" into the broad – and profitable – popular-music category, and the length of this live broadcast is one more sign of its acceptance. The first country-music-awards show to fill three prime-time hours, it may have as much trouble justifying its marathon length as any other awards program, but it is trotting out big names like Garth Brooks, Wynonna Judd, Reba McEntire, and Alabama.

Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: America's Folk Religion *(PBS, 10-11 p.m.)*: The false stereotype of the evangelical leader – shouting, self-righteous, perhaps secretly dissolute – is debunked in this careful three-part documentary that goes on location throughout the United States to demonstrate that evangelists are as hard to classify as the country itself. Four congregations are visited in the opening program: a modern church in suburban Chicago, a black Mississippi Pentecostal church, a California fundamentalist with roots in the "Jesus Freak" movement of the late 1960s, and a traditional camp meeting in West Virginia. The guide through this first show is Randall Balmer, professor of American religious history at Columbia University and author of the book from which this miniseries takes its title.

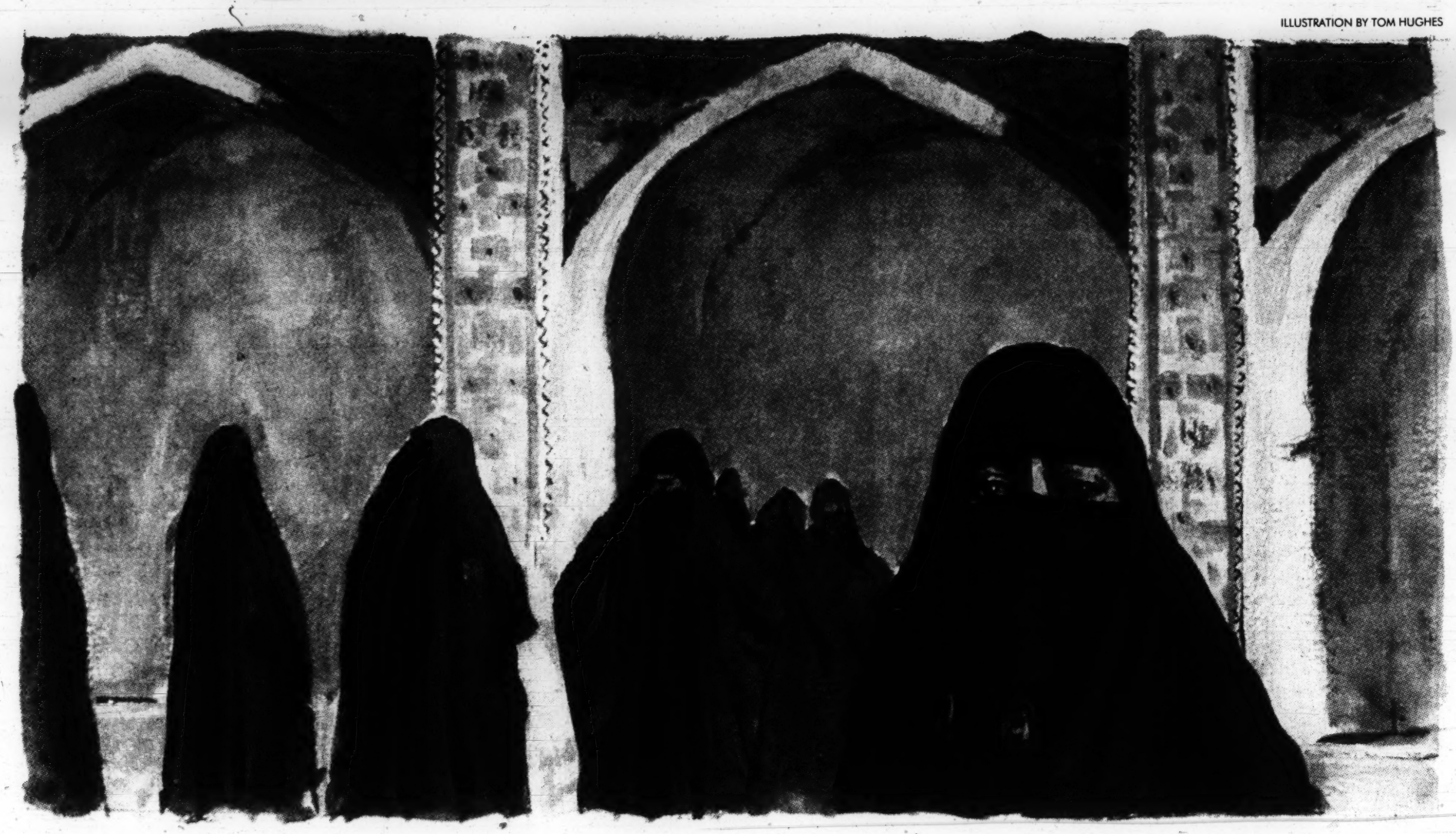
■ WEDNESDAY

Mark Russell's Irish Fling *(PBS, 8-9 p.m.)*: They don't traditionally go together, but scenery and laughs are two inevitable ingredients of any documentary that follows an American political satirist around the Emerald Isle. Dublin, Galway, Limerick, the incomparable countryside, and other places are visited by the popular Mark Russell, who for 18 years has been seen periodically on PBS standing at his piano and belting out songs that skewer politicians. Irish guests appear here and there, including Dermot Morgan, Ireland's own political satirist, who was voted his country's 1992 Entertainer of the Year. Russell also chats with more scholarly types, and we see a tape of his Dublin performance at the historic Olympia Theatre.

Please check local listings for all programs, especially those on PBS.

The Home Forum

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM HUGHES



Scenes From Muslim Ports of Call

AT sunset, the cruise ship pulled away from the pier in Muscat, Oman. Two tugboats assisted its departure. Half of the crew members attended to their work; the others threw prayer rugs down on the decks and knelt in the direction of Mecca. The tugs bobbed in the waves of the harbor, and the devout crew members bobbed in the process of their prayers.

As the tugs shifted their positions, moving the ship away from the pier, the men at prayer shifted their positions in order to be aligned with Mecca.

* * * *

The guard on the third floor of the Yemen National Musuem sat as still as a statue in a hard-backed chair. It was a surprisingly modern museum for what in many ways seems a medieval country. The guard's garment, black as the Dark Ages, robed her slight, unmoving body all the way down to her worn black leather shoes. Black gloves hid her hands. Dark cloth covered her head, masking it except for her black eyes.

I walked about the architecture exhibits, examining the models of various dwellings typical of these highlands of the mountainous Arabian peninsula. The model of a typical dwelling of the Sana area showed a four-story building similar to the one the guard and I were in: beige stone on the lower floors giving way to beige brick on the upper ones; painted designs over the doorways and above the windows; and semicircular pediments of carved limestone, each one different and set with stained glass.

The legend both in English and Arabic explained that the first floor of a typical house served as a granary, storerooms, and stables. On the top floor, a sitting room was located. There the men of the house would meet with male friends, and at separate times, the women of the house would entertain women friends.

I bent over the exhibits, my hands clasped behind my back, and walked about them. I had the urge to approach the black-veiled, unmoving figure in the chair and, maintaining the hands-behind-back stance, peer at the exhibit. For surely the figure was a cultural artifact of Yemen.

Of course, I did not. I examined the exhibits, and the guard examined me. Every now and then, I glanced at her. Her dark eyes, framed by dark skin and black veil, would meet mine.

But I felt no connection. She could see me: my lanky, gray-haired American frame, my long-sleeved sport shirt, my slacks, my hands with the gold band on the left one, my manner of approaching the exhibits. But I saw nothing of her: only two dark eyes robbed of context by the veil.

I felt as I had before in this country, that I did not know what I was seeing.

* * * *

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, businessmen paced about the hotel lobby, waiting for transportation. Hotel personnel – all men – leaned against counters marked "Concierge," "Reception," and "Cashier."

A group of tourists was also there. Some relaxed on leather couches; others stood near their hand luggage, shifting their weight back and forth, chatting in twos and threes. The tourists were waiting for folkloric dancers who would give them some depiction of Yemeni culture.

The figure entered from the outside, clothed in black from head to foot. A black veil hung from the crown of her head. She was obviously a modern woman, entering a hotel with self-possession and without a chaperone.

There was no crack of cymbals and no blare of trumpets. But everyone in the lobby was aware of her, this unexpected depiction of Yemeni culture. She drew the eyes of the tourists and businessmen and even the hotel personnel as she walked across the lobby, her step demure. She gazed at the floor, looking neither right nor left.

* * * *

At sunset on the docks at Salalah in Oman, five men were praying. The air was humid and warm, and there was no sound except for that of the cruise ship pulling away from the dock.

The men all faced the same direction: north/northwest toward Mecca. One man stood in front of the others. Then they knelt on prayer rugs. They bowed their foreheads to the ground. They sat back on their heels, still praying, and one of the men adjusted his leg, as if to avoid a cramp.

The men were alone on the dock, five small, sunset-reddened figures in the expanse of asphalt, praying as the light went out of the sky.

* * * *

At the airport in Sana, eight or nine Muslim women sat waiting to be called for their flight. The chairs they occupied were arranged in series of eights: four chairs on each side facing each other. Small tables stood between the second and third chairs. On these, travelers could rest small items of luggage.

Chadors cloaked the heads and bodies of the Muslim women in black cloth. Black gloves covered their hands and black veils masked their faces. Only their eyes and a framing of olive skin around them were visible.

It was so crowded in the waiting room that at first we had to stand. Then two seats became available opposite our friend Elisabeth. My wife Donanne and I took seats.

Next to Elisabeth and across from us sat one of the veiled women. It was hard to make any judgments of her from the kind, lively eyes that watched us. But guessing from her girth, she appeared middle-aged and was content with her life. Elisabeth tried to strike up a conversation with her. Pushing a map before the woman, Elisabeth indicated the route of our travels.

The veiled woman observed Elisabeth as if she were a jabberer from that curious corner of outer space where unknown foreigners talk at you in airports. Then she looked at me.

Hailing from the same outer space, I pointed to myself. I tapped my chest with my hands. "I am from California," I said, pronouncing my words with both unusual clarity and unusual volume. "I am going to al-Hudayah." The woman's dark eye's measured me. "Where are you going?" I asked.

The woman's eye's narrowed. Was she

frowning? She glared at another veiled woman; this woman, thin, wrapped in her chador as if it were a protective covering, sat beside me across the small table on which her packages lay. Her veiled scrutiny was unmistakably hostile.

I looked at the "friend" across from me. "Are you," I asked, pointing to her of course, "going to Cairo?" Her mystified look left me bereft of other possible destinations.

Then she spoke. She offered a brief burst of unintelligible gutturals – not the English I had hoped to hear.

"Riyadh?" Donanne asked her. "Are you going to Riyadh?"

More gutturals and I recognized among them something that sounded like Riyadh. Suddenly we were all smiling at one another. And just as suddenly etiquette forced me to surrender my seat to the woman who had originally occupied it.

Withdrawing, I watched Donanne and Elisabeth continue a sign-language conversation with the veiled woman.

Donanne formed her arms as if they were cradling a baby and pointed at the Arab woman. In return, she smiled and held up four fingers. She indicated the heights of her children in stair steps. Donanne reciprocated. All the while the thin Arab woman, the one who used her chador as armor, looked on with uncertainty.

Soon the women were comparing jewelry. In the souks we had visited, Muslim women crowded jewelry stores. Following local custom, they wore much of the family wealth on their person in the form of gold.

Our "friend" scrutinized a gold bracelet brought from America. She shook her head and waved her hands along a horizontal plane. By her standards, the (quite lovely) bracelet was no good.

Donanne showed her a necklace – made of coral and "white metal," presumably silver – that we had bought only a few hours before. The woman placed her hands across it. Then she looked at Donanne, placed her hands before her, and put both thumbs up.

Everyone laughed, and Donanne felt she had made a friend of an Arab woman whose face she had never seen.

* * * *

We were given royal dispensation to enter Jiddah. Tourists are not welcome in Saudi Arabia, so we were a study group. The women wore scarves over their heads and over their bodies chadors, black high-necked outer garments that reached almost to their ankles.

It was a little like dress-up for adults. Some of the women even bought face-coverings: pieces of black cloth with eye-holes that fastened behind the head with Velcro. The women also bought sheer black veils to cover the crowns of their heads.

Once masked and veiled, our "study group" women were difficult to distinguish from Saudi women shopping in the souk. One of our men lost track of his veiled wife, then saw and went to her. When he touched her shoulder, she spoke sharply to him in Arabic. The woman he had touched was not his wife.

While the Saudi women were dressed in black, their husbands wore white robes with red-and-white headcloths. Usually the children had on Western clothes. It was charming to see a white-robed Saudi man pushing a stroller and keeping two other young children in tow while his wife floated from store window to store window, seeing what was on display.

* * * *

We had tea at the hotel in Cairo. It was the end of the trip. A couple sat nearby, looking out across the hotel garden that had once been the playground of a pasha.

We heard the woman say: "You know, I'm really not sure what to make of what I've seen on this trip. I mean, you see women veiled head to foot and you think, how dreadful. It infuriates you that the men of Muslim society – you assume it's the men who do it – force women to move about outdoors like black blobs, without any possibility to express their individuality."

At sunset on the docks at Salalah in Oman, five men were praying. The air was humid and warm, and there was no sound except for that of the cruise ship pulling away from the dock. They bowed their foreheads to the ground.

The man with her nodded and sipped his tea.

"Then in Jiddah, when we actually put on the veil, I must say, I thought: Hmm, this is rather nice. I didn't have to worry all the time about how I looked, what I was wearing. Men didn't eye me, didn't check out my body.

"Then we get back here to Cairo. There are women on the billboards again, smiling enticingly, showing their bodies – not in bikinis, of course – but still displaying. It makes you realize the extent to which we've let sex drive our society."

"Hmm," said the man.

"Do you think a resurgent Islam is going to threaten our way of life?"

"I doubt it. The media has to write about something." The man took another sip of his tea.

"The men praying at sundown. I liked seeing that."

The man nodded.

"Didn't you like seeing that? You pray."

"In my closet."

"Closet religionist."

"That's the way we do it," said the man. "We've all made a tacit agreement that our society has two cultures: a secular mass entertainment culture we can all share and a private culture. We often let the secular be driven by sex and greed. And we put matters of faith in the private culture and mention them only to our very closest friends."

"I'm not sure I like that," the woman said. Then she added: "You know, I wonder why it is we've been so educated to think the Arabs are dangerous. Do you suppose they've been educated to feel the same way about us?"

"I wouldn't be surprised," the man said. "More tea?"

Frederic Hunter

Infinite Resources

TODAY, as the world's population increases, many feel deep concern about the finite nature of the world's resources. In particular the need for energy resources is of considerable concern because of the ever-growing demands on those apparently limited resources.

Christian Science brings a new dimension to the search for needed resources by showing us the unlimited resources that are already available to us. Resources and power that are material are by nature limited. But God provides His creation with infinite resources that are wholly spiritual in nature. As we understand more fully that spiritual power, the omnipotence of God, is limitless and can never be exhausted through use, we find new ways to trust God's power in every aspect of our lives. This shows us that our need for power and resources is within our consciousness instead of being an external demand.

In her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, The Founder of the Christian Science Church, Mary Baker Eddy, assures us that spiritual resources amply supply our needs. Speaking of God as Soul, she writes: "Soul has infinite resources with which to bless mankind, and happiness would be more readily attained and would be more secure in our keeping, if sought in Soul." The power of Soul, God, is only dimly echoed by the power reserves of all the world's petroleum, natural gas, coal, and other resources. The power and resources of Soul are immediately available to us as we are willing to claim their practical utility in our lives.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

An illustration of how God provides for those who trust Him can be found in the Old Testament, in II Kings. There the Bible records that the prophet Elisha assisted a widow whose sons were to be placed in bondage to pay her debts. Her sole possession at that time was a pot of oil. Because she trusted Elisha's godliness, she was willing to obey his instructions. She borrowed numerous empty containers from her neighbors and then poured oil from her pot into all the vessels that she had borrowed. The oil kept pouring out until all the containers were full! She then sold the oil, paid her creditors, and had enough surplus to provide for the needs of her family.

In a similar way in today's world, as we work to discover what God has already provided, we will find that our need for various resources is met in ways that are practical. Expecting that God will provide needed solutions by no means condones wastefulness or irresponsibility, however. Wise stewardship is essential! But as the sun floods the earth with heat and light, so the warmth and radiance of Soul can be seen as ever present and providing infinite resources. Unlike the sun, however, Soul's radiance is present for everyone both day and night. We have Biblical assurance of this ever-presence and provision in Paul's letter to the Philippians, where he wrote: "My God shall supply all your need according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus."

Much of the world's unhappiness lies in the false belief that there is not enough good—not enough resources—for all of us to have what we need. Since the resources of Soul are freely and abundantly available to all, however, there need be no strife among people and nations for their control and use. What *is* needed is the inspired thought—or prayer—that cuts through limitation and helps us find each day's solutions to mankind's energy needs. Prayer may lead us to new ways to conserve existing resources, to more equitable ways of meeting the needs of all our fellowmen, to new resources we haven't even dreamed of yet. But one thing is certain: prayer that builds on *spiritual* resources won't leave us empty-handed!

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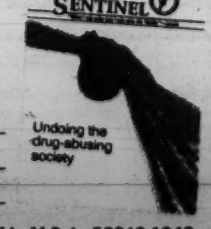


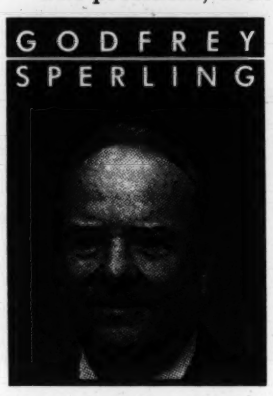
Praise for Panetta's Political Candor

BEFORE the incident is forgotten, let's pause for a moment and hail Leon Panetta. He did the unpardonable the other day in talking to some reporters: He committed candor.

The rules of the game called for Mr. Panetta, as the president's director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), to give a pep talk in behalf of President Clinton's endangered economic package. He didn't.

He said he saw a real danger of this economic program being torn apart by counterpressures "from liberal Democrats in the House and conservative Republicans in the Senate." His gloom (which he would have been expected to keep to himself) spilled out everywhere. He called the proposed trade pact with Mexico and Canada "dead" and was less than optimistic about Mr. Clinton's ability to persuade Congress to provide aid for Russia. And he said he was "very nervous" about an economy that the president has been saying was getting better.

The president, doubtless jolted by a top aide speaking his own mind, tried to make the best of a difficult situation. He said that Panetta was speaking out of his own personal despondency and that he would "try to buck him up." He said he wouldn't "take Panetta to the woodshed." He knew he couldn't do that. A president can't publicly punish a key team member for telling the truth. It is understood that, privately, Clinton was seething.



I know very well how what is being called "the Panetta incident" happened. To begin with, Panetta is one of those rare politicians who – as the key budget-shaping member of Congress – was known for talking straight talk instead of providing what is known as "political answers." We in the press have known for a long time that there's something inside Panetta – let's call it "character" – that compels him to call a spade a spade.

Then put a public official – almost any public official – in a context where he is talking to a relatively few print reporters and (without all those TV cameras focused on the interview) he will be more relaxed, more likely to be talkative and informative and less likely to be close-mouthed and protective. That is my own observation based on watching such guests perform at countless Monitor breakfasts.

But then add the "Panetta factor" to what is really an interview with several reporters and what do you have? Well, you have that rare commodity, a politician with a penchant for candor actually saying what he really has on his mind. To this I can only add: How refreshing! Let's sing a song of praise for Panetta and say the world would be better off if we had more politicians like him.

Panetta was also his candid self in early March when he was the guest of the Monitor's breakfast forum. At that time he was optimistic: He spoke confidently of quick congressional action on Clinton's economic package. He foresaw the job-creating stimulus legislation being enacted by Easter. And he said he thought the rest of the president's plan – taxes and what the president called "investments" – would be in place by midsummer.

Well, since that time the Republicans in Congress have destroyed that stimulus package and dimmed the prospects for Clinton's full economic program.

But Panetta, as Clinton's OMB chief and an official who is a key adviser at all significant economic policy sessions at the White House, would normally be expected in his outings with the press to provide what is often called "damage control." He should, according to the usual rules, be the good team player and confine his remarks to putting the president and his programs and intentions in the best light.

But Panetta is Panetta – and thank goodness for that. He must have really miffed Clinton – and Mrs. Clinton, too – when he suggested at this recent session with reporters that the president should delay the unveiling of his health-care program until midsummer. Panetta thinks Clinton has given Congress all it can handle at this time.

Panetta's words probably won't change much, or anything. The health-care plan may be delayed a bit. Clinton is, indeed, making some changes in structuring his White House staff. To us this sounds more like political adjustment than substantive change. But whatever Clinton now does, the air in Washington does seem clearer and cleaner – thanks to Panetta.

OPINION/ESSAYS

Frustration with UN response leads some Islamic nations to aid Bosnians

Muslim World and Bosnia

By Sassan Tabatabai

AS the West sits idly on the sidelines and watches the systemic extermination of Bosnian Muslims, an outraged Muslim world, with clenched fists and whispers of *jihad* (holy war), readies itself to become involved in the Balkan war.

The Islamic Conference Organization (ICO), 50 Muslim countries with more than 1 billion inhabitants, following the lead of its two most outspoken members, Iran and Turkey, has been calling for military intervention in Bosnia. Islamic countries view the inaction of the United Nations as Western hypocrisy toward the Muslim world, especially in light of the swift, decisive end brought to Iraq's adventurism in Kuwait.

Anti-Serbian sentiments are boiling in these countries, and many point a finger at the UN as a benign culprit in the Bosnian fiasco. Hikmet Cetin, Turkey's foreign minister and usually a staunch supporter of the West, could no longer restrain his criticism of the UN and lashed out at Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Mr. Cetin said the secretary-general "has failed to discharge his duties with the required sense of responsibility and seriousness."

Ayatollah Emamikshani, a senior Iranian cleric, was equally critical: "If the UN seeks to take things seriously and declare itself to be the organization of nations ... and not an organization of arrogant powers ... it must rush to the aid of those being tyrannized." He proposed that "all the Islamic states should form a united army for the liberation of Bosnia-Herzegovina." Ali Akbar Velayati, Iran's foreign minister, added weight to Emamikashani's proposal by stating that Tehran could "act independently to protect the Muslims of Bosnia."

Such rhetoric is expected from fundamentalist Iran. But similar threats coming from Turkey, perhaps the most westernized Islamic country in the world, are cause for concern. Turkey is torn between its patronage to the West and its moral obligation to fellow Muslims next door. Many elements within the country see Turkey as bending backwards to appease the West, while, as it is argued, Turkish concerns continue to be put on the back burner by its so-called European allies. The situation has reached a point where further Turkish inaction could threaten the current government. Vocal elements within Turkey are increasing their call for active engagement in Bosnia. Necmet Erbakan, leader of the Turkish Prosperity Party, bluntly stated his party's intentions on Turkish television: "If we come to power, we will do in Bosnia what we did in Cyprus." This is not only a call for action but amounts to a slap in the face for the UN, considering the UN's long-time involvement in Cyprus.

Islamic countries, no longer able to restrain their feelings, have been providing clandestine aid to the Bosnian Muslims. In September 1992, an Iranian Boeing 747, which was supposed to be carrying relief supplies to Bosnia, was intercepted by Croatian authorities in Zagreb. Upon inspection, it was discovered that the plane was loaded with 4,000 rifles and more than 1 million rounds of ammunition. That this was only one of many aid deliveries from Iran suggests that other arms shipments have gotten through. Pro-Iranian sources in Lebanon also disclosed that more than 50 veteran Hizbullah guerrillas had been dispatched to Bosnia to help train and organize the Muslim fighters.

The Turkish newspaper Ozgur Gundem reported that a force of 1,000 men is being readied for deployment in Bosnia.

TURKEY has also been active in delivering clandestine aid to Bosnia. The Turkish newspaper Ozgur Gundem reported that a force of 1,000 men is being readied for deployment in Bosnia. The report, which was confirmed by an official associated with the Turkish General Staff, said that the unit was being set up by the 28th Mechanized Brigade. The soldiers were to be sent into Bosnia in small groups, wearing civilian clothes to avoid detection.

Apparently, Turkey also is involved in arming the Bosnians. In January, the newspaper Milliyet reported that Saudi Arabia had asked Ankara if it could purchase 40 armored combat vehicles, which it would in turn send to Bosnia. In March, the acting spokesman for the Turkish Foreign Ministry, Ferhat Ataman, went out of his way to deny German television reports that Turkey was sending arms to Bosnia.

Although most such reports are denied for political reasons, arms from Islamic countries have been getting through to Bosnia, mostly through mountain roads from Croatia. In September 1992, Rusmir Hadzihusenovic, the Muslim mayor of Konjic (near Sarajevo) confirmed that his town had received arms: "Two weeks ago we received the first weapon deliveries, 32 lorries full, and in recent days another 60 trucks have arrived in Konjic."

Unable to tolerate the crimes being committed by Serbs against fellow Muslims, ICO Secretary-General Hamid Algabid declared that it had "become necessary to intervene militarily in Bosnia-Herzegovina to stop the massacres committed by the Serbs against the Muslims."

In an extraordinary conference of Islamic foreign ministers held in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, in December 1992, a resolution was passed that called for full compliance by the Serbs to all UN resolutions regarding Bosnia. The ICO set a Jan. 15 deadline, after which it would intervene militarily, with or without the UN. According to Turkish sources, the initial deployment would probably consist of a contingency of at least 5,000 Iranian troops, who are ready for immediate deployment.

The Jan. 15 deadline came and went, but in light of the Vance-Owen negotiations at the time, Islamic countries took no action. Now, however, after the breakdown of negotiations and with the UN implementing one toothless resolution after another, Islamic countries are nearing he end of their patience and self-control.

"What was done to end the occupation of Kuwait," demanded Suleyman Demirel, the Turkey's prime minister, "should be done in Bosnia-Herzegovina today." Ali Khamenai, Iran's spiritual leader, was less diplomatic. If the West is unable to stop the devastation of the Bosnian Muslims, said Mr. Khamenai, then "they [the West] should allow our young Muslim combatants to give the Serbs their dues."

■ *Sassan Tabatabai is a John M. Olin Research Associate at The Center for Defense Journalism at Boston University.*

Looking for the Truth About Vietnam POWs

By C. Robert Zelnick

ONCE again, a "smoking gun" on the prisoner of war-missing in action (POW-MIA) issue has turned instead into fools' gold.

This time it was Harvard researcher Steven Morris who discovered Russian-language documents in the Moscow archives that "proved" that in September, 1972, North Vietnam was holding 1,205 American POWs, more than three times the admitted number and more than twice the 591 who came home the following year.

But after reviewing the files of the Defense Intelligence Agency, checking with the Vietnamese during a previously scheduled trip to Hanoi, and obtaining new evidence from Vietnam, Gen. John Vessey, the presidential envoy on POW-MIA matters, returned with a credibility-destroying list of inconsistencies in the Russian documents.

Gen. Tran Van Quang, identified in the documents as the deputy chief of staff of the North Vietnamese Army in 1972, whose report provided the informational basis for the Russian documents, was not in fact the deputy chief of staff at the time alleged. Nor, claim the Vietnamese, is there any record of a politburo meeting on or about the stated date. North Vietnam consolidated rather than dispersed the POW population following the abortive 1970 United States raid on the prison camp at Song Tay.

Most convincingly, General Vessey produced a copy of the previously sought Vietnamese "Blue Book," the handwritten ledger which listed chronologically US aviators captured in Vietnam and that showed that Hanoi likely held at least 200 fewer flyers than the Russian document reported.

Moreover, the likelihood that Hanoi could at any point have captured and then held 600 Americans within the confines of well-known facilities unbeknownst to their fellow POWs and to US intelligence is small.

As has often happened with spectacular developments on the POW-MIA front, the initial myth received far more prominent news coverage and editorial comment than its subsequent debunking.

Our credulous treatment of the Morris information was particularly lamentable, coming as it did barely three months after publication of the report of the US Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs, by far the most complete, informed, and objective congressional study of the subject.

The committee was well situated to authoritatively address the critical issue: the number of Americans missing at the time of the armistice and about whose fate there was legitimate question; and the number about whom legitimate question remains today.

NEITHER number was ever very large. The committee found that "a group of approximately 100 civilians and servicemen expected to return at 'Operation Homecoming' did not." Of these, about 30 were believed to have been captured in Laos.

The committee found that only in a handful of these cases was there information that the missing individual had actually been captured. Years of access to Vietnam showed that in many of these so-called "discrepancy cases," the individual was killed in action or died in captivity. "The bottom line is that there remain only a few cases in which we know an unreturned POW was alive in captivity, and we do not have evidence that the individual also died in captivity."

The committee criticized the exuberant official remark here and there that may have suggested that the entire POW-MIA issue had been fully resolved and periodic de-emphasis of the issue on the part of the intelligence community, particularly during the late '70s.

But it found no conscious or deliberate effort to dismiss the possibility that some POWs survived or to cover-up evidence to that effect. In the committee's words, "the conspiracy cupboard is bare."

The plain fact, of course, is that at the time the Morris documents were discovered there were not enough missing Americans whose fates were in doubt to justify the number in these documents.

Why the confusion among so many journalists and editorial writers who should know better?

Perhaps because a small core of former national security officials in both Democratic and Republican administrations – some motivated perhaps by ideology, others with lingering personal scores to settle – continue to suggest a POW issue far more expansive than any they were able to identify while in office.

Or perhaps as a hedge against the possibility that one or more Americans will in the future be shown to have survived the release of their comrades, even knowledgable people are playing it cute.

Take, for example, Sen. John Kerry (D) of Massachusetts, chairman of the select committee. On the day he released his report last January, Senator Kerry noted he found "no certainty that anyone was left alive in 1973," and "not even compelling evidence that they were alive."

Kerry then retreated to a formulation unknown to either logic or law, declaring, "There is evidence of the possibility that some people survived in 1973." Evidence of a possibility? Small wonder Kerry's report failed to achieve the "cloture" of national debate he said it deserved.

■ *C. Robert Zelnick is the Pentagon correspondent for ABC News.*

Russia Has to Clean Up Nuclear Weapons Dumped in Sea

By Frank Murkowski

THE central stake for the United States in the power struggle between Boris Yeltsin and opponents of reform in Russia is most often presented in nuclear terms: A revived arms race spurred on by an anti-democratic regime in Moscow could once again cast the shadow of nuclear annihilation over the post-cold-war world, costing America billions in defense savings in the process.

There is, however, another nuclear issue at stake in reforming the former Soviet Union. For decades, the Soviet military used Russia and its bordering oceans as dumping grounds for nuclear waste. Under Mr. Yeltsin, these destructive practices have been exposed. If reform fails in Russia, they could be revived.

Perhaps more than any other institution of the former Soviet Union, the military stands to gain in power and prestige should Yeltsin's reform efforts fail. The US has a vital national-security interest in seeing that this does not happen. What is less recognized is that we have a vital environmental interest at stake in the struggle for democratic reform in Russia as well.

In the nightmare of environmental degradation that is the legacy of communism across the former Soviet Union, that country's vast military and weapons production complex was the No. 1 contributor. Recently, Greenpeace released the results of a top-level Russian commission confirming what Western scientists and environmental groups have long believed: For decades, the Soviet Navy dumped nuclear reactors from its submarines and icebreakers into Arctic oceans and the Sea of Japan. Between 1965 and 1988 the Soviets secretly dumped 18 nuclear reactors, six of which still contained highly radioactive fuel, into shallow waters.

The Soviet military's nuclear activity was not confined to ocean dumping. What can only be described as nuclear atrocities were routinely committed in the many secret, numbered cities that dot the former Soviet Union and comprised its vast nuclear weapons complex. At one such secret city, known as Chelyabinsk-65, from 1948 to 1952 weapons producers dumped radioactive waste directly into a river that served as the source of drinking water for 28,000 downstream residents. It is estimated that between 10,000 and 17,000 drums of radioactive wastes have been left to decay in the Russian Arctic.

Like so much of what occurs in Russia, the effects of the reckless nuclear activity of the former Soviet military are not likely to be contained within the borders of the disintegrating empire. No one knows for certain, but estimates are that enough wastes have been dumped to allow more than 2 billion curies of radiation to escape into the environment. The danger is that these radionuclides could enter the food chain and eventually affect humans.

The lack of accountability and the tight control of information that allowed the military for decades to poison the environment of the former Soviet Union could not have existed in an open, democratic society. The protection of the global environment from the effects of radiation pollution in Russia is an important part of US efforts to help democracy survive in that country. In fact, the interests of democracy and environmental protection can be served simultaneously in Russia, and with a modest commitment of US resources. One way is to bring Russian scientists into environmental assessment and clean-up in the Russian Arctic. The need is currently great for long-term environmental monitoring in the Arctic to assess the damage already done by radiation pollution there.

The survival of democracy in Russia depends on fostering a spirit of open, critical inquiry that is central to a healthy scientific establishment. The Russian scientific community is struggling today as talented researchers and scientists abandon their institutes for better facilities and prospects abroad. The US could serve both its own interests and those of Russian democracy by involving these scientists in environmental monitoring and keeping them out of the weapons labs of third-world dictators.

An additional means of preventing further radiation problems is to take some of the money Congress has earmarked to help Russia destroy its nuclear weapons and use it to safely dispose of nuclear reactors from decommissioned submarines. The Russian Navy currently has 80 to 90 submarines ready for decommissioning, with many more to follow in the years ahead. It is imperative that safe alternatives to simple dumping of these reactors into the ocean be provided.

Combatting this menace need not deter us from seeing reform triumph in Russia.

■ *Sen. Frank Murkowski (R) of Alaska is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.*

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Strikers' Rights in US

APPALACHIAN coal miners are poised to go on strike, and Democrats in Congress are pushing through a bill that would protect striking workers from being permanently replaced by management. This comes at a time when a major item on the agenda of congressional Democrats is a bill that would prohibit employers from hiring permanent replacements for strikers.

EDITORIALS

The bill is said to be the highest-priority item of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) for the current legislative year.

Although general practice in the United States has been to return workers to their jobs without penalties after strike settlements, there is no specific law requiring this.

From 1970 to about 1987 – prosperous years for the most part – this country experienced a period of few strikes, although some of the most bitter and hotly contested "job actions" occurred during those years.

The most dramatic was the air-traffic controllers' strike in 1981, which resulted in the wholesale firing by President Reagan of 11,000 of the controllers in the nation's major airports. The impact of that action is still being felt by airlines and passengers, and by strikers who have had to find other occupations. Mr. Reagan was acting for the federal government against strikers who were in quasi-public service jobs. Most employers don't operate with such an advantage.

Back in 1938, the Supreme Court ruled that employers could hire permanent replacements when strikes dealt with wages, benefits, or other economic conditions, and that permanent replacements would not be dismissed nor strikers necessarily reemployed.

In recent years, the practice of permanently firing strikers has been on the increase.

A majority of congressional Democrats favor the new measure, which would codify the requirement to rehire strikers. A majority of Republicans are opposed.

Rep. Richard Gephardt (D) of Missouri, the House majority leader, says the bill will be readily passed in his chamber; but its backers in the Senate face a situation similar to others that have arisen since the recent election: Senate Republicans may be able to filibuster the proposal into oblivion for this session.

Although organized labor no doubt could weather such a setback, this proposal is the right step at the right time in labor-management relations. Democratic leaders see this strike protection as an essential step in guaranteeing workers the right to return to their jobs without penalty after settlement of labor disputes.

It could, and probably should, be an idea whose time has come.

MR. RUSH LIMBAUGH TEMPORARILY REPLACES THE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM ON THE CAPITOL DOME.
DANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

Toward a US Technology Policy

THE congressional committee hearing room was packed. House members, focused on the development of a startling scientific breakthrough, leaned forward to hear researchers describe their progress. The politicians had two basic questions: How can we support your work? And how do we keep from getting beaten by Japan in bringing this discovery to market?

These questions, raised during 1987 hearings on research into high-temperature superconductors, lie at the root of the Clinton administration's attempt to set technology goals for the United States.

As a special report that begins on Page 9 in today's edition points out, the challenges and the stakes are enormous.

Many of the president's goals are sensible: making permanent the R&D tax credit; expanding funds for basic research; making it easier for companies to form consortia for joint research of generic technologies; develop a telecommunications "superhighway" to speed the dissemination of data to business, industry, and educators.

Of particular need is a focus on manufacturing technologies. This is one of the historically less glamorous fields in engineering. Yet this is one of the fields in which the Japanese have excelled.

Other goals raise questions. The White House would like the Pentagon to spend more of its R&D money on dual-use technologies, with civilian as well as military applications. Depending on the technologies, however, this raises concerns about the export of products that could wind up as components of a potential adversary's arsenal. And targeting R&D toward specific areas of national interest opens the door to pork-barrel spending.

Governments have not established stellar records for picking technological "winners." The administration's program seems designed to provide federal help without undue government interference. Yet government involvement can never replace the ability to see market potential. That rests with the individual entrepreneur. The failure or tardiness of the US companies to capitalize on such home-grown technologies as videocassette recorders and microwave ovens is due at least as much to a lack of vision as to a lack of federal policy.

Improving the Measure of Economic Progress in the US

I applaud the concept described in the Opinion page article "Needed: a Score Card on National Growth," May 3, of reflecting in the gross domestic product (GDP) changes in the quality of the nation's natural and social environment. However, the author makes clear she has definite ideas on what constitutes progress in these areas. When self-appointed experts set the value of economic goods, the result is at best economic measurement rendered useless by the biases of the measurers, and at worst economic collapse.

If the author's goal is improving measurement of economic progress rather than pushing her political agenda, she would work toward creating markets for environmental and social goods. This would automatically bring these commodities into the GDP, while insulating this important economic statistic from the political whims of government economists.

The Bush administration took a step in this direction by creating a market for pollution permits among major air polluters. This concept should be extended as rapidly as possible to other areas where the GDP does not account for the environmental and social costs of economic activities.

Eric J. Klieber ***Cleveland Heights, Ohio***

Get high-tech with railroads

While deficit reduction and economic stimulation are urgent, it is important that this is done in a way that does not hinder the solution of other serious problems. Many of these are both transportation and environment-related.

LETTERS

The principal causes of air pollution are our overdependence on fuel-inefficient and environmentally destructive air and highway transportation, while ignoring fuel-efficient and environmentally benign railroads; our dependence on imported oil, with its accompanying war risk; the cash outflow to pay for this oil, which is only aggravated by building more roads; and the cost in money and in environmental damage of constructing more roads and airports.

For years, our transportation policy has promoted air and highway transportation and ignored railroads. This policy must be reversed to get as much passenger and freight traffic as possible back to the railroads. Railroads should be treated like roads; roads do not make a profit and are not expected to, and railroads should be treated the same way. Amtrak must have a dedicated source of capital funding, as do the roads, to avoid the annual need to beg Congress for money to survive another year. An appropriate source of funding would be 1 cent of the federal gasoline tax, dedicated to Amtrak. This is not unfair to road users because it would reduce congestion without requiring construction of more roads.

We must develop high-speed rail passenger service but must keep the rail network intact and not break it up into isolated corridors. The high-speed trains must be like the French TGV or the Swedish X-2000 trains. We must not waste money on magnetic levitation, which is an entirely different technology.

John J. Bowman ***Lancaster, Pa.***

Don't forget farmers

Thank you for the Points of the Compass article "No Stoplights, Lots of Pluck," April 14, about farming in Manlius, Ill. It is seldom when the nonfarm press carries coverage about issues farmers face. Since our vast urban population takes quality food for granted and seldom has the chance to touch the good earth, information that helps consumers realize the human cost of providing this food is welcome.

I have not been to Illinois, but what struck me is the similar conditions between the Manlius grain farmers and the small New Hampshire and Vermont dairy farmers with whom I work.

Barbara B. Tiews ***Lancaster, N.H.***